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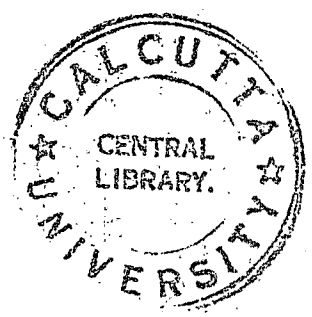

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Premchand Roychand

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1921

THE SINGER

(*Translated from the Original Bengali by the Author*)

The crowd listens in wonder to Kashi, the young singer, whose voice, like a sword in feats of skill, dances amidst hopeless tangles, cuts them to pieces, and exults.

Among the hearers sits old Rajah Pratap in weary endurance. For his own life had been nourished and encircled by Barajlal's songs, like a happy land which a river laces with beauty. His rainy evenings and the still hours of autumn days spoke to his heart through Barajlal's voice, and his festive nights trimmed their lamps and tinkled their bells to those songs.

When Kashi stopped for rest, Pratap smilingly winked at Barajlal and spoke to him in a whisper, "Master, now let us hear music and not this new-fangled singing, which mimics frisky kittens hunting paralysed mice."

The old singer with his spotlessly white turban made a deep bow to the assembly and took his seat. His thin fingers struck the strings of his instrument, his eyes closed, and in timid hesitation his song began. The hall was large, his voice feeble, and Pratap shouted "Bravo!" with ostentation, but whispered in his ear, "Just a little louder, friend!"

The crowd was restless; some yawned, some dozed, some complained of the heat. The air of the hall hummed with many-toned inattention, and the song, like a frail boat, tossed upon it in vain till it sank under the hubbub.

Suddenly the old man, stricken at heart, forgot a passage, and his voice groped in agony, like a blind man at a fair for his lost leader. He tried to fill the gap with any strain that came. But the gap still yawned: and the tortured notes refused to serve the need, suddenly changed their tune, and broke into a sob. The master laid his head on his instrument, and in place of his forgotten music, there broke from him the first cry of life that a child brings into the world.

Pratap touched him gently on his shoulder, and said, 'Come away, our meeting is elsewhere. I know, my friend, that truth is widowed without love, and beauty dwells not with the many, nor in the moment."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

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ON THE THRESHOLD [1]

I have found flowers at my doorsill growing,
Windflowers come when no wind is blowing,
Late and pale
Cowslips that wait for the nightingale
To leave his thorn for my eldertree,
Friendly ivy that plaits for me
About my doorposts of ivory,
Folding my foolish dreams together
Against the trouble of windy weather.

Near the door of my dreams there grows
A rose of roses—a tall red rose
With dreamy dews she is thick-beset ;
A fire in bud she is folded yet.
I shall enter in
Love's untrod garden that rose to win
On a day to come when my dreams will go
Straight to the heart of that rose I know ;
And the heart of the rose will beat so high
That I shall hear it,—ay ! even I ;
And the bud will shiver and flush and break
To a splendid rose for Love's dear sake.
Ah dreams, go swiftly ! Dear rose, awake !

NORA HOPPER

[1] This unpublished poem by the talented authoress Nora Hopper who died on 14th April, 1906, has been very kindly placed at the disposal of the Calcutta University by her husband Mr. W. H. Chesson.

NATIONAL EDUCATION AN ESSENTIAL OF NATIONAL ART

The Art of a nation is the expression of the ideals of that nation through its distinctive emotional attitude towards life and its problems. In its highest manifestations it is the revelation of the Soul of the people; it is the perpetuation of their moments of Vision of the Infinite; it is the crystallisation of their efforts after Realisation of the Divine; it is their reproduction of the Archetypes.

No one denies that there is *National* Art, however much they may argue about the existence of National Geography, or National Mathematics, or even National Education. One has but to think of the Art of Japan—chiefly in colour and naturalistic, the Art of Greece—chiefly sculptural and humanistic, the Art of Egypt—architectural, geometric and allegorical, or the Art of India—ornate, religious and symbolical, to realise that countries express themselves in beauty in quite different ways which can best be described as National, and which are the resultant of local conditions of climate, materials, social customs, and the outlook of the times and the people.

In this National Art of the Hindus there are unrivalled and unequalled examples of its ancient architecture in Indian temples; of its stone sculpture in the caves of Elephanta and the rocky hillsides of Mahabalipuram; of its classic paintings in the Caves of Ajanta; of its highly developed music in the Carnatic system with melody types and a use of the material of vocal sound to an extent unthought of in the West; of its poetry and drama in Tukaram, Mirabai, and Kalidasa. All these and countless others are evidences of Indian culture of the highest degree at a time when the Western World was in its childhood. Only when Indians travel much more extensively through other countries than they do at present. will they realise the priceless treasure their country possesses in the

heritage of Beauty left to it by its Artist-lovers of old, for a true sense of relative values of those things which are well-known comes only from the sense of comparison gained by seeing similar things in many lands.

The most striking characteristics of all Indian artistic expression are an absorbing interest in religion, little attention to personality or to the fleeting appearances of Nature, and the expression of the general or type rather than of the particular or transient. In this ancient Hindu Art human portraiture was neglected, landscape and seascape were almost unknown. Imagination, not Nature or models, was the source of art; creation, not the idealisation of a work of nature, was the aim of the artist; symbolism, not accuracy of detail, was the method; and the qualities of the Divine, as presented in the lives of gods and goddesses, not the likenesses of men or nature, was the message of this art.

The predominant thought in judging Western art is, "How like it is to.....!" That concerning Eastern art is, "What a feeling of.....it evokes!" The Indian does not make God in his own image, rather he thinks that the less like man its creation is the more likely is it to resemble God.

is necessary thus to analyse briefly the distinctive
s of Indian Art in order to understand the causes that
d to the degeneration and loss of the ancient artistic
of the people, and in order to revive it and rebuild it
m its still existent national foundations in the nature of the race. It is an undeniable fact that no great works of art have been produced in India for the last hundred years. With the Tagores alone has the ancient genius reasserted itself in literature and painting. Only in the memories of the people, in their home customs, and in the traditional industries does the continuity of the ancient national culture persist and by carefully nourishing these the future shall grow naturally from the seed of the past, that seed from the great tree of knowledge of the fruitful era of India's past culminating in the

13th century, the seed which fell into the earth, the hearts of the common people, and there seemingly had to die in order that it may burst again into abundant new life through their freshly awakened National Consciousness, stimulated by the atmosphere of National Education.

The desire to express emotion is the motive of art, but the actual power of expression is dependent on the training and education of the artistic talent in an atmosphere of encouragement, appreciation and affinity. Under the system of education imposed on India by the British Government these have been absolutely lacking. English educationists, starting with the idea that Indians were uncivilised heathens, and failing to understand the rationale of their art, ignored India's past in history, in institutions, in science, in art. It despised and taught its students, directly and indirectly, to despise the already existent National Culture.

One of the probable causes that led to this unworthy attitude towards Indian Art is that almost every artistic effort in India is interlinked with religion, and as the British Government had tried to make their system of education palatable to Indians by the promise of religious neutrality, it found in the case of the Arts it was practically forced "to throw the child with the bath," as the French say.

Indian architecture is bound up with *Shastric* dir dealing with proportionate measurements allotted to each God in the portions of the buildings over which each rules,—Hindu sculpture knows no subjects other than stories of the deities; Hindu music was dedicated to the Goddess Sarasvati and sang nought save the praises and the worship of the gods and goddesses; even the art of dancing was like Miraim's of Jewish fame—it was done before the Lord and danced before the Ark. The educationists must have plainly seen that it was impossible to encourage the continuity of the ancient culture without indirectly encouraging the people in their "heathen" religion and this a Christian government could not conscientiously do.

especially with the missionaries ready to report on the matter to those in high places at home. The easy way out of the difficulty was not to teach the Arts at all, and this was the policy actually adopted for a certain length of time until reforms in education, particularly on the artistic side, began to be pressed by the later educationists, and a break having already been effected with the old tradition, the foreign authorities proceeded not only to make Indian boys into the likenesses of English gentlemen, but even to make latent Indian artists into *English artists* !

For a time Indians themselves, thus trained, thought it "progressive" to look on the art of their own country with contempt. To the present day those who have that "little learning" which is such "a dangerous thing" build their houses after Western styles (quite unsuited to tropical conditions of climate), fill them with English or French furniture whose design and wood carving cannot for a moment compare with the excellence of the art of carved house doors in South India, for instance; regale themselves with indifferent gramophones, and when asked to play or sing immediately produce the Austrian portable harmonium and endeavour to make their voices "coincide" with its artificial tones!

These things are the result of a system of education (so-called) which poured scorn on India's past achievements and within the last twenty years imposed the artistic method and training of a foreign civilisation on a naturally refined, receptive, artistic people cut adrift in their training from religion (their national spring of action), from their ancient traditions of art usage (the soil in which flourishes the art of each country), from the industrial and economic demand of the people for artistic, home-made productions (the practical service of the artist to his country).

Religion is inextricably interlinked with every side of life in India. There is no division into secular and religious in art, sex, customs, or commerce. This being so, the absence of

a religious atmosphere and training sapped the very foundations of Indian Art, and when an attempt was made to teach art in Government schools,—drawing, for instance,—it was on the system of the South Kensington School of Art, a system utterly opposite to that in which the artistic race-mould of India has been set. Its result is a product unworthy of either civilisation.

Indians rely on their powers of quick and minute observation, retained in the memory, made use of after interior contemplation on the subject chosen, so that its vital essence may be realised and then brought again into manifestation through the active creative impulse of the artist, which employs the knowledge of form retained in the memory and works from an interior vision, or dream, or inspiration. Indian art employs no models, no plans. South Kensington art builds its whole system of training on copying from plates and models, or direct from Nature. Hindu art is the child of Yoga: Western art is the child of Science.

By re-establishing Religion as an obligatory subject in all the schools and colleges under the control of various National Schemes of Education the first step has been taken towards the renaissance of every form of Indian art, for it brings the nation back to its own message and its own method.

With regard to another great repository of Indian culture, music, English education has had the grace, or the contempt, to leave it severely alone. No music syllabus has been arranged by it for Primary or Secondary Government schools, and as far as Universities are concerned there never was a thought that Indian music might be worthy of inclusion as a Degree subject though Western music is included in British University syllabuses as a matter of course.

As music is the language of the emotions it thus follows that the emotional side of the nature of the youth of India has been entirely neglected and undisciplined by the self-instituted educators of this country.

The introduction of music as a regular subject right through every class from Kindergarten to School Final would be a step of supreme importance for the cultural future of India. Every child has a voice and an ear, and in India almost everyone loves music. In Western countries every child is taught singing and is trained in the elements of music. Under the new conditions of Indian education with Indians as Ministers of Education, the same opportunity must soon be afforded to every Indian boy and girl to receive instruction in their own National music, and to have the refining, disciplining, uplifting effect of song on their plastic emotions interwoven with their purely intellectual studies. Young people love singing, and the character flowers best in those conditions which give it happiness, so the promoters of such Education will know that the inclusion of music in their syllabus will enrich the individual nature; unify conflicting temperaments in the harmonising influences of good music sung in unison by large classes—itself a method of instilling the principles of co-operation—give a wider national understanding and appreciation of its own music; continue the musical traditions of the race, and by recognising, encouraging and dignifying the whole profession of music make ready the way for the natural growth and development of Indian music.

For those who are specially talented in music the National University and the Hindu University have prepared a Syllabus to cover a Degree Course in Indian music—that of Bachelor of Music, of a standard equal to that of any Western University but more inclusive in that it requires from its candidates an elementary knowledge of the Western system, whereas the West ignores the presence in the world of any system but its own and gives no encouragement to the training of the voice. National Education without the inclusion of music would be a contradiction of its name, and the arrangement and publication of a graduated course of training in music from Kindergarten class to Bachelor of Music Degree examination as a

recognised constituent of National Education is, in itself, a national service. It will undoubtedly do much to restore Indian music to its former high position, when no officers of the nation, no members of the King's retinue, were more honoured than the musician.

Not only as an encourager of the Beautiful, but also as a reformer of abuses and a barrier to degenerating influences, must the National Teacher of Art stand firm. Alas, in taking into its favour a musical instrument, the harmonium, which limits its age-long power of expression, India has put herself under a more denationalising influence than that of a foreign political government. The British Government left India's music alone, but the Central Powers of Europe in the person of the Austrian harmonium are insidiously conquering India's soul. The ancient Greeks were devotees of music which at that time was almost identical with Indian music. Their greatest educationist, Plato, said,

"The introduction of a new kind of music must be shunned as imperilling the whole state; since styles of music are never disturbed without affecting the most important political institutions...Any musical innovation is full of danger to the whole state, and ought to be prohibited. When modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the State always change with them."

Accordingly, National educationists will encourage the practice and development of the noble Indian instruments and discourage the use of the harmonium even as a *sruti* accompaniment, as its presence offers too great a temptation to frail humanity to take a short cut to learning on accompanying instrument, but one which forces the singer to omit all the microtones which are the precious distinguishing features of Indian music, or else if these are retained accustoms the ear to disharmonious relations between sounds that ought to be absolutely coincident in pitch. Only instruments which can produce the microtones can be admitted in Indian musical

education. The encouragement of folk-music must be undertaken. The songs associated with all agricultural processes, the chanties of sailors, the dancing songs connected with various kinds of Kallattum, will be revived and taught in village schools and thus the ancient culture which is permeating the life of the people be used as the basis for a new impulse of artistic expression such as has taken place so successfully in other countries.

It is remarkable that three forces have underlain all artistic expression in India, namely, religion, beauty, and utility. The art of design, for instance, is kept alive in every household through the religious custom of invoking the goddess to the home by drawing symbols before the house-door, and these two acts are interwoven with the prosaic utility of ensuring cleanliness in the pathway to the house. The art of modelling is widespread in its elementary stages through the necessity for having clay images for certain religious festivals, and it is intimately connected with the earthenware industry. What a difference between the beauty of line and the decoration of countless brass cooking vessels in India and the iron pots of England or the kerosine tins of America !

This triangle of forces must be adhered to in the industrial revival of New India, and none except the system and curricula of the National Systems of Education give the groundwork for them, for they firstly include the religious atmosphere, then encourage a system of courses in drawing, modelling, literature, architecture and music based on the former artistic culture of the nation, and finally aim at applying all its training in science and art to the economic prosperity of the country, and seek to turn out producers of things needed by the people rather than members of the parasitic professions.

This will be accomplished largely by employing as teachers in the schools those who have traditional knowledge and experience of India's past arts and crafts. As a result there will be, in the not very distant future, well-educated Indian

architects who will design the modern Temples of Humanity, known as Courts of Justice, Council Chambers for the various autonomous Provinces, Public Halls, etc. There will be famous designers for silk and cotton weaving, for embroideries and laces and carpets as Eastern in spirit and treatment as those of old yet capable of expressing the fresh wave of life of the present. Already the painters of the younger generation are being guided to express themselves in the racial method in the Tagore School of Art in Calcutta; and even as the presence of the Muhammadans gave greater freedom to Carnatic music, without destroying the individual character so will the impulse from Western musicians create in both these divisions of Indian music the desire for further expansion rising up from within and manifesting itself along the lines of its own idiom eventually to bring forth a new Thyagaraja, poet and musician laureate of Asia.

Political events in India during the last twenty years have newly awakened her National Consciousness. With it is linked a greater sense of pride in the nation's past as regards heroism, dignity, power of self-reliance, and world-wide reputation. A larger number of unprejudiced travellers between East and West, and a greater amount of interchange of ideas has in these days produced a better standard of comparison in artistic matters with the result that India's most legitimate pride in her unsurpassed art treasures, alas chiefly of the past, has flamed up anew, and the desire to regain the ancient powers of art creation has sprung to life again in many a patriotic breast.

From National Consciousness and National Pride has issued the demand for National Education, and, as the present Government gives only denationalising education, the Society for the Promotion of National Education was started. It is significant that its President Sir Rabindranath Tagore, is an epitome of the Arts, being a poet, dramatist, musician and practical mystic.

As a result of National Education will come National Creation of character, art, crafts, sciences, industries, which are the true source of a nation's wealth, and of its high status in the Commonwealth of Nations. And its twin result will be National Commerce, the science of regulating the laws of supply and demand; of adjusting international interchange on a basis of just dealing, not of exploitation or out of necessity for market but of harmonious relationships, the truly artistic side of Commerce, not sufficiently thought about. National Education is accordingly the link between India's glorious past and its heir, the more glorious future; for it will give her that "self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control" which alone "lead on to sovereign power."

India is recognised as having given the gifts of religion and philosophy to the world; she also has wondrous gifts of Beauty to offer to humanity. In providing facilities for the expression of the soul of Young India through encouragement of, and pride in her traditional Arts the Society for the Promotion of National Education undertook a National service along the path of Beauty, a path as necessary as politics, or physique, or knowledge, or religion, for the qualities which are the essentials of artistic creation, *viz.*, proportion, perspective, balance, symmetry, contrast, clarity of idea, necessary for all other subjects are most accurately, directly, and demonstrably trained through Art, which Plato placed next in order of time to gymnastic (the training of the body) and before instruction in intellectual subjects.

MARGARET E. COUSINS

GANDHI AND TAGORE

"To which God shall we offer our oblation ?"[1] is the question over which the mind of the country is exercised, when it finds that its two representative leaders of thought and practice are pointing in different directions. Rabindranath Tagore ranks among the great creative geniuses of the world whose songs sway nations. No Indian political leader within living memory has been so popular as Gandhi. Search the whole world through, we cannot find two gentler souls. They speak with authority and decision that spring from undoubted conviction and are putting us to confusion by their different voices.

In all his recent utterances, which glow with the love of truth, Rabindranath urges for a closer co-operation between the East and the West. Gandhi is the leader of the non-co-operation movement. He is the sworn enemy of all that goes under the comprehensive term of western civilisation and seems to aim at a state of things when we would be free from trams and taxis, posts and telegraphs, doctors and lawyers. With him it is a delusive optimism to believe that machinery will save India. The effort of civilisation, the labour of science, and the progress of art have not added to man's happiness but have taken away something substantial from it. Gandhi pleads for the freedom of the human spirit which is now at bay, as it were, before the horrible monster of a mechanical civilisation. For Rabindranath, on the other hand, machinery does not matter so long as we have the right attitude to it. If the living centre of mind is healthy, these externals do not count. It is a false theory to assume that we are spiritual in proportion to the fewness of the material

[1] *kasmai dēvāya havishā vidhēma,*

instruments we employ. He cannot concede that we shall be more free in spirit, if we throw away our papers and pens, cut off the telephone and the telegraph and reduce ourselves as much as possible to the level of the primitive cave man. Rabindranath is the deadly enemy of outworn tradition and conceited prejudice. The caste system, in his opinion, does not help the expression of the free creative impulses of man. Gandhi is of the opposite view. Without the restrictions of caste, communal life would be endangered. Rabindranath looks upon the caste system as being responsible for the moral bankruptcy, the blatant philistinism, the cynical selfishness and the bitter class feeling of modern Indian life. But Gandhi points his finger at those who have shaken themselves free from caste and are drifting aimlessly in the eddies without any sober sense of social responsibility and concludes that the nation would be landed in a disquieting chaos, if it should give up caste altogether. The mystic poet that Rabindranath is, he pleads for the freedom of mind and spirit and calls for a reform of all institutions, social and political, which work against it. Gandhi is primarily interested in the political part of national life.

More than all, the two seem to differ in their respective attitudes to life. Rabindranath speaks of the joy of life, the freedom of spirit and the delight of existence and Gandhi takes a grim, austere attitude that life is suffering, it is a course of discipline, or a round of restraints. Rabindranath believes in the blamelessness of natural life and glorifies the artist who has the ability to love and enjoy the world. Instead of renouncing the flesh, he seems to feed, refine and adorn it. His art glorifies its beauty and its passions. He rebels against all restraint and acknowledges no authority save that of spirit. Gandhi preaches the doom of the natural world, its pomps and vanities and proclaims and practises the blessedness of poverty and chastity. It is as hard to think of Gandhi in silk robes and velvet shoes singing away the joy of life as

is to imagine Rabindranath in rags with ashes on his face and an alms-bowl in his hand preaching the glories of poverty. They evidently embody two different ideals in their lives and teachings.

We cannot charge either with insincerity or want of patriotism; we cannot impute any motives of expediency. They are much too great for such temporising. They have the strength of soul to fight untruth and falsehood in whatever shape they clothe themselves. They possess such a deep love for their country that they hate parasitism as a career for India. Standing for opposed ideals, they yet declare that they derive their inspiration from the ancient wisdom of India. On second thoughts we shall see that the opposition is only apparent and by their temperamental differences they have been led to emphasise different aspects of one ideal. They differ only in the distribution of emphasis on the aspects of the ideal and not in the ideal they set forth.

On the fundamental proposition that the soul of all improvement is the improvement of the soul, they are agreed. They build their schemes on the sure foundation of spirit more solid than rocks. Each individual will have to realise the hidden glow within himself before he can burn with enthusiasm for the true, the good and the beautiful. To get at the deepest centre of self, we have to free ourselves from the externals. We then realise the great oneness, the experience of infinity, the triumph of the living over the dead, embodied in the great exclamations of joy of the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita "I am everything and everything is me." When all is conquered and we become alive to the reality of the one spirit, the soul bursts forth in a perfect utterance of concentrated spontaneity. In the poetry of Rabindranath, we have the expression of the abounding joy of life, which makes the common things of earth instinct with higher values. His deeply spiritual nature looks at the things of the world with the fearless gaze of an unspoiled

child, sees them as they are and feels himself to be a part of them all in a way not easily comprehensible by our sophisticated minds. It is the proud privilege of Rabindranath the artist, to speak to us in vivid image and burning phrase of the kingdom, the power and the glory that will be our share when we become the children of light. Gandhi with his vision concentrated on the actual, tells us of the wilderness of sands that we have to traverse in pain and defeat, before we can reach the spiritual heights. Rabindranath reveals to us the secrets of spiritual life and possession and Gandhi points out the inevitable suffering we have to put up with in the upward ascent. Rabindranath describes to us the life of an individual who has tamed his passions and ennobled them, while Gandhi tells us of the strife of an individual who is wrestling with his passions and trying to conquer them. They emphasise the two sides of the one truth. Gandhi says, we can be saved only by suffering and Rabindranath adds, of this suffering the end is perfection. Gandhi says that freedom consists in an independence of passions and Rabindranath adds, true independence means dependence on the Eternal. The best way to conquer passion is to replace it by a stronger and nobler one, for an empty heart is a hollow thing. Rabindranath, by his magnanimous imagination brings before our minds an entrancing view of the holy and tranquil order that hovers over the earth and tries to charm away the evil passions of the wild heart and create a lofty enthusiasm for the ideal. But Gandhi cannot rest content until the ideal becomes actual, until the consuming passion is converted into a creative energy. Being a supreme artist, Rabindranath recognises the value of beauty in the daily life of mankind and the important part it has played in the growth of the human spirit. While he allows that the simplification of the wants of life is quite good and even necessary for a poor nation, he does not admit, that it by itself means a high level of life. It is possible to be poor and brutal and ugly as much as to be

rich and vulgar and ugly. Plain living is not always high thinking and in many cases it is no thinking at all. Rabindranath and Gandhi both believe that the function of the body is to be a helpmate of the soul. A human being is essentially a thing of spirit and the body must be subdued to its spiritual function. This involves a training of the body. Neither is of opinion that a mere mortification of the natural desires is a source of spiritual good. It is true that, in this matter, Gandhi adopts an emphatic, nay exaggerated tone, which perhaps is justified by the state of the country where men are running after pleasure and comfort, ease and luxury. If we are to prepare ourselves for the spiritual struggle, if we are to make ourselves ready for unlimited self-sacrifice, we should acquire a complete detachment from material possessions and a control over bodily appetites. Only then could we empty ourselves to the uttermost and follow the path of truth even to the scaffold. Of course, this does not mean that Gandhi looks upon the innocent joys of life as pollutions of the soul. He is not a sour ascetic who asks us to roam in the wilderness clothed with leaves, nor does he worship the vulgar cult of the vermin. The common things of earth and air which never grow old and never decay are sources of spiritual joy and their appreciation is to be cultivated to a larger extent since their value is not diminished by sharing. In the spirit of all the great religions of the world, Rabindranath and Gandhi urge, that, though poor, we can be rich in spirit and sometimes wealth is a hindrance to spiritual growth but this is not to countenance the apotheosis of the dung heap, and the morbid love to wallow in beastliness.

It may be of interest to follow their views on the different aspects of Indian life, political, economic, cultural and social. It is not to our purpose here to defend or denounce their views. We shall only describe them so as to throw light on the question of the principles involved.

Gandhi, it is to be acknowledged, leads the mind of the country in the sphere of politics. Though Rabindranath is first and foremost a poet, his poetry palpitates with the life of the country. He cannot rest in peace, when the nation is enslaved, when millions die of hunger and when more suffer from disease and are tormented by poverty and when almost all are deprived of the life of the soul. Both believe in truth and hold that falsehood is bound to wither since it has no roots in reality. Both hold that the soul that has no weakness in it cannot be overcome. The tyrant may torture and kill the body but it gives him no purchase on the soul. If we are armed with truth and right we may go ahead shrinking from nothing. Believing that none can resist virtue for long, these leaders of modern India ask us to stick to truth and righteousness at any cost. When they convinced themselves that the Government of the country was not based on principles of justice and generosity but rested on the force of arms, they announced to the world that it was not worthy of trust. Rabindranath threw off his knighthood in a memorable letter whose words still echo in our ears. Gandhi organised a movement to kill the institution by refusing to it the food on which it thrived.

As much as possible, Gandhi wishes to avoid the infliction of suffering on others. He feels that the end may be gained by passive resistance. Patience will shame the spoiler. He will grow weary with wickedness when it meets with no resistance. The movement of non-co-operation is based on this principle. Co-operation is always conditional. We obey the laws and respect the established institutions when we feel that they work for the general good. It is this recognition that underlies the spirit of law-abidingness. To go on doing so when we feel that the Government has forfeited its trust is a real act of unkindness to the Government and disregard of the interests of the community. Non-co-operation is an attempt to induce a change of heart in the offender and the

best service one could render to brother man when he goes wrong. It cannot however be admitted that Gandhi is right in thinking that the Indian Government has really no regrets about the events of 1919 and persists in ruling India by the sword. This, after all, is not to the point in an abstract discussion of the fundamentals. If passive resistance does not bring about a change, active resistance may be resorted to. We cannot say, that on the principles of Gandhi, active resistance of the aggressor is disallowed. It is a distinction of degree whether the resistance is active or passive. It is hard to draw the line between the two. The right attitude to develop is a spirit of brotherhood and if resistance is to be offered, it should be in a spirit of humanity. This is not easy but all good things are as difficult as they are rare. We should not resist in the spirit that a man who has made me suffer must suffer too.

Rabindranath and Gandhi do not in any way encourage a hatred of the Britishers. Rabindranath denounced the western 'nation' as a mechanical organisation intended to further power and success and not peace and joy. And yet he has love and admiration for the 'peoples' of Europe. Gandhi adopts the same principle. "One may detest the wickedness of a brother without hating him"; "you as an individual are infinitely better than the system you have evolved as a corporation" (Second letter to the Englishman). Gandhi also hopes "that before long it would be possible for India to co-operate with England on equal terms."

Both of them recognise that in this world there is no effect without cause. They ask us to drop the lazy habit of blaming the British for everything. The Britisher did not do either good or bad, without our co-operation. The cheap theory that the hatred of the Britisher is the beginning of all virtue is denounced by them. We suffer for our sins and now is the time for repentance, expiation and mourning. The non-co-operation movement is, at any rate with its leader, a movement of

self-purification. The subjection of the country is the result of our want of character, our moral weakness, which can be removed only by self-discipline. It alone can rescue the spirit of the Indian from the obsequiousness bred by years of subjection. It is only through suffering that the nation can be saved. "No country has ever risen without being purified through the fire of suffering. The mother suffers so that her child may live.....Life comes out of death. Will India rise out of her slavery without fulfilling this eternal law of purification through suffering?" (Young India, "The Law of Suffering".) We must first establish Swaraj within ourselves before we can achieve Swaraj for our country.

It is impossible to overestimate the good that Gandhi has achieved, by his insistent emphasis on non-violence and truth. Everywhere in the world people who are subject to perpetual restraint of mind, censorship of the press, suspicion of the cultured, repression of free thought, tend whenever opportunity arises, to forswear all restraint and live dangerously claiming the utmost license of personal conduct. There is certainly something romantic when men are ready to bear witness to their faith by the blood of their body. We are compelled to admire those who defy all persecution and meet defeat and death with a smile in their faces. But both Rabindranath and Gandhi proclaim in decisive tones that when we resort to crime and violence there is a sudden snapping of something in the soul and we get beyond all bounds and do not shrink from any measure. We become mad with emotion and deprived of the truth of the soul and the most degrading instincts overcome us and we go about raging animals dealing out danger and discomfort, death and destruction. Our leaders affirm that the true sacrifice is sacrifice for truth. Even to the wicked, says Gandhi, let us be truthful. He asks us not to surrender ourselves to hatred. We should tame our passions, develop a love of truth and a loathing of falsehood and acquire that elevation of spirit which is necessary for humanity and

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fellowship. Unfortunately, Gandhi makes mistakes with regard to his following. He can fight injustice with absolute calm and a clean conscience but ordinary humanity cannot fight unless the blood boils. For moral heroes, it may be possible to fight without hatred, without betraying any anger or impatience of spirit but ordinary men will have to pass through long periods of moral evolution before they can reach those heights. Gandhi's estimate of human nature should have been considerably upset by the Nankanasahib tragedy and the recent happenings in Malabar.

Gandhi has succeeded in making politics serious, spiritual and wider in range. It has no place for the empty windbags full of rant and rhetoric. Only those with courage and wisdom to face realities can take to it honourably. There is no more hitting below the belt but only a clean fight in the open. Gandhi has touched the heart of the country and the political situation has become in the true sense of the word a national concern. The vital defect is that his political programme is much too advanced for the large masses of those who call themselves his followers. It is likely that he may reconsider the situation in the light of recent events.

It is not easy to reconcile the burning of foreign cloth to which Gandhi attaches great importance, with his high spiritual ideal. It is to Gandhi, primarily an economic problem. He clearly says that the boycott of foreign cloth " is not devised as a punishment. If the Government were to-day to redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and consent to India attaining immediate Swaraj, the boycott movement must still continue. " Nor does he think that it is sinful to soil our hands with anything made in Great Britain. " Things other than cloth which can be better made outside India, she must gratefully receive upon terms advantageous to the contracting parties." Foreign cloth symbolises to Gandhi the poverty of the masses. " The fine fabric that we

have imported from the West or the Far East has literally killed millions of our brothers and sisters and delivered thousands of our dear sisters to a life of shame." By developing a taste for cheap cloth, we have impoverished our country, and that sin we have to expiate by not only giving up our foreign cloth but by making a huge fire of what we have. These demonstrations may perhaps be thought necessary to inspire with a deep sense of Swadeshi men who have neither the will to die nor the strength to live. It also provides an opportunity for developing strength of purpose. If India can act as one mind in Swadeshi, says Gandhi, "she has learnt the secret of attaining Swaraj—the art of destruction and construction in a scientific manner." Gandhi does not think that we shall always go in Khaddar, for if we "are satisfied with coarse Khadi for a few months, India need not despair of seeing a revival of the fine rich and coloured garments of old which were once the envy and the despair of the world." The love of the poor which is a passion with Gandhi is the cause of his hatred of machinery, which to him stands for increasing poverty and class-feeling. He knows however that it is the abuse of machinery that has made mankind miserable. He allows simple contrivances like the Charka, which bear clearly the impress of the ideas behind them while he disallows those which weigh down the activities of the soul and become sources of overpowering temptation.

The question, being one of economics is to be judged by experts in that field with due regard to the force of sentiment. In India, we suffer from a peculiar mental disease. If a lawyer makes a huge pile by virtue of his legal learning, we take him to be great in every line of human activity. We get him to preside over all our meetings, religious, social, scientific, economic and political. We consider him an expert in all subjects from art to zoology. When the Britisher established his rule over India, he showed himself to be politically superior to Indians but he put on

an impertinent pose of superiority in all other directions as well and we, to our lasting shame, blindly acquiesced in that view and regarded our religion as barbaric, our philosophy as puerile, our art as grotesque and our *vīnā* as inferior to the harmonium ! Even so to-day we believe that Gandhi is an authority in economics and education and social reform and what not, because he happens to be a spiritual saint. It is time to free ourselves from this mental derangement and the consequent confusion of issues. Let us not mix up things secular and sacred but decide economic questions on economic grounds and make a huge bonfire of foreign cloth, if that be the most economical use we can make of it.

In educational matters, Gandhi has adopted a surprising attitude. As a part of his programme that Indians should wash their hands clean of the British Government, he required the students to boycott the institutions aided or managed by the Government. Apparently the students were being used for a political purpose. In his eagerness to shake off the fear and the lethargy of the people, Gandhi demanded this drastic step of the boycott of educational institutions. But he overlooked the central fact that student life had its own sacred privileges which ought not to be bartered away for anything on earth. There is no meaning in calling upon young and immature minds with no capacity for judgment to sacrifice. Self-sacrifice is a noble ideal but the self which we are asked to sacrifice must be a really rich self. The offerings which we bring to the altar of our country's freedom must be costly ones and not empty and broken vessels. Of course, most men to-day feel that there is something wrong with the whole system of education. Rabindranath and Gandhi declare that it does not promote the true interests of culture or humanity. " We are provided with buildings and books and other magnificent burdens calculated to suppress our mind. The latter is treated like a library shelf densely made of wood to be loaded with leather-bound volumes of

second-hand information. It has lost its own bloom of life and borrowed polish from the carpenter's shop. All this has cost us money and also our mind : while the vacancy thus produced has been crammed with what is described in official reports as education. In fact, we have bought our spectacles at the expense of our eyesight." " What .I object to is the artificial arrangement by which this foreign education tends to occupy all the space of our national mind and thus kills or hampers the great opportunity for the creation of a new thoughtpower by a new combination of truths " (Socialist Review). Gandhi revolts against exclusive worship of Western culture and its national idolatries and asks us to destroy the existing institutions before we set to build new ones. This programme gave rise to a strange idea in men's minds that Gandhi was a determined foe of Western culture. It is true that some of his statements lend colour to such an idea. But his real view of what the future of Indian education should be is not different from that of Rabindranath " that all the elements in our own culture have to be strengthened, not to resist Western culture but truly to accept and assimilate it, and use it for our food and not as our burden : to get mastery over this culture, and not to live at its outskirts as the hewers of texts and drawers of book learning." Being a great educationist, Rabindranath believes in absolute freedom of mind. Intellectual bondage is no cure for intellectual error. Truth has no particular brands. It is not a patent medicine bottled up and bearing a particular chemist's label. Gandhi knows it all but believes that we must sweep the table clean before we can start constructive work. Expert educationists rightly feel that the existing institutions could be shaped to the new purpose. Reform from within is more desirable and practicable than outright destruction. This is the opinion of Rabindranath and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee thundered the same view into people's ears some months back and thus saved the Calcutta University from what would have otherwise proved a grave crisis in its affairs.

In social matters, Rabindranath takes his stand on the sanctity of soul and the inviolability of self. He is a true man who has the courage of his convictions, who never shrinks from doing what he feels to be right, for fear of offending men. His poetic soul declares that each man is a law unto himself. He does not believe in languid virtue done without warmth. He is for generous surrender and not mechanical submission. The yoke of law is burdensome to him. The poetry of life should flow down copiously in all our activities. To love madly is better than to love wisely. However much this law of absolute freedom may be valid for the perfect man, Gandhi feels that there are dangers in applying it to the society at large. To allow undisciplined minds indulging in cheap emotions to rule themselves would be to make a madhouse of this fair earth. It is true that morality should be spontaneous and if spontaneity were all, immorality would be the highest virtue. Gandhi knows the weak side of human nature and pins us down to rules and regulations. Though Rabindranath does not glorify wildness and adventure in the name of self-expression or spontaneity, the so-called "free" minds readily misconstrue his theory into a mystical anarchism which excuses adultery when it is redeemed by love and defends vice when it is inspired by a holy passion. Gandhi as a practical reformer is afraid of the consequences of encouraging men to sweep away their environment, defy contemporaries and become laws unto themselves. While all that may be true for the perfected, the beaten track is the best for the normal. Both Rabindranath and Gandhi admit that discipline and delight, law and liberty, go together. Only Rabindranath lays more stress on the latter and Gandhi on the former. In moral life as in politics, freedom is not possible except in obedience to law. Those who cannot prescribe right laws to themselves must accept laws made by others. We should live by law living the law we live by without fear. These laws which are the curbs on the passions

of man must ultimately be taken over into an inward inspiration. Then routine relaxes and we get a sweeter life than mere legal piety.

Gandhi appreciates the Dharma of the Hindus on account of its instrumental value. It tests virtue, trains character and teaches the beauty of goodness. It is the social conscience which works for the recreation of man. Rabindranath feels that the organisation of caste is inconsistent with the truth of spirit. There is no doubt that Gandhi with his quiet strength and determined courage will be able to mend it, if he is convinced of its inconsistency with true humanism. He is however not yet of that opinion. On the question of untouchability, he feels very keenly and has therefore come down on it with great force. If we are loyal to the spirit of truth, we must look with respect on all who bear the human face divine. In the opinion of Gandhi, our treatment of the untouchables is the greatest blot on our civilisation. He does not care, if he upsets settled forms and disturbs complacent ease. The terrific words which he uttered at Nellore, where he met a set of women fallen from virtue cannot easily be forgotten. When he was told who they were, he was overcome by feelings of sorrow and sympathetic shame. He felt that honour was vital to the soul of womanhood and dishonour was a desecration of the holiness of love. What pained him most was the state of our society which could suffer such a system with conscience, the brazen hardness of men, the legality of temple ritual which knew not any mercy or justice, pity or shame. He made his hearers sensitive to a new delicacy in the law of chivalry that it is not he who does not go out of his way to tempt a woman that is virtuous but it is he who when tempted by her enables her to preserve her honour. The present writer has heard from friends that the mighty power of his personal purity roused the slumbering conscience of many hardened hearts. It is clear that if only he be convinced of the evil effects of the caste

system, he would be the first to shake its power. He cannot stand shams.

It is true that his conservatism in social matters has added to his popularity. Many of those who have not the strength to shake off routine and convention, who have abandoned the attempt in despair, who are afraid to be alive in a world that is dead, are taking shelter in the views of Gandhi. Rabindranath feels intensely that the spirit of man is being smothered by these walls of separation and cannot sympathise with Gandhi's cautious conservatism. He can only tell Gandhi that his conscience has taken the wrong side.

In Rabindranath and Gandhi we have representatives of the Greek and the Christian conceptions of life. Rabindranath reminds one of Plato. He is the philosopher-poet-mystic-educationist who abstains carefully from forcing his views on his pupils but enables them to become their own masters. He never flatters, never dogmatises but works on the head and the heart by his sweet speech and subtle humour. By the generous and noble thoughts he expresses in his gracious poetry, he touches the heart and rouses an enthusiasm for the ideal. He is the typical genius of Bengal, famous for her art and culture, lecturing at Santiniketan, like Plato in the olive grove of the Academy. Sauntering among the tall trees, pacing the colonnades, he delights his pupils with fresh springs of thought and new pastures of feeling. It is his heart's desire to establish a *Vishvabhārati* where may be gathered all the wit and genius of the day, artists, poets and philosophers. An idealist trying to live ever in the pure radiance of the spirit, "he is like one who retires under the shelter of a wall in the storm of dust and sleet which the driving wind hurries along."[1] Gandhi hails from the hard-headed matter-of-fact Bombay. He is a democrat of democrats and a born leader of men who is able to control all by virtue

[1] Plato, *Republic*, IV. (Jowett).

of the divine principle of love he embodies in himself. None can be blind to the beauty of the great law he lives and propounds. In him we have the ideal man of India, of unlimited patience, of transcendent virtue, who cares for nothing, wants nothing for himself, neither fortune nor fame, and yet out of the abundance of his love for humanity is devoting himself to the cause of justice and truth for his native land. We subscribe whole-heartedly to the statement of the Rev. Mr. Holmes that Gandhi is the greatest man of the world to-day. "When I think of Rolland, I think of Tolstoi. When I think of Lenin, I think of Napoleon. But when I think of Gandhi, I think of Jesus Christ. He lives his life. He speaks his word. He suffers, strives and will some day nobly die for his kingdom on earth."[1]

C. S. R.

[1] Rev. Mr. Holmes.

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PROSE POEMS

Love Offerings

(Translated from Persian)

Love! 'Tis the heaven and hell, the joy and affliction of two fevered souls.

*

Doth heart verily speak to heart the lovers' language mute? Why, then, are my tears unanswered; why are my prayers unheard? Sweetest, dearest, said the nightingale, All is not love that blossoms, nor all hope that blooms.

*

I seek not love or loyalty, for they are fickle and false; but thus much I do seek; a moment's thought, a moment's greeting, a sweet farewell.

*

I think of thee by day, and dream of thee by night. I look for thee in solitude, and search for thee in a crowd; and yet thou art nearer unto me than my shadow, closer unto me than my breath.

*

Not ruby lips, not willowy waist—not these—kindle the flame of love; but something secret, something hidden, read but *by* and *in* lovers' eyes.

*

I bring lilies and roses to thee, for they are fairer than all that human art can fashion. I bring worship and devotion to thee, truer than aught that any mortal can boast; I bring love to thee, for that is sweeter than all else that human heart can give. Accept these offerings, and accord a glimpse of the heaven that smileth behind that jealous veil.

*

One turn in the garden; one loving pressure of the hand; one passionate kiss; one fond embrace. Let us snatch from Fate one, only one moment of bright, perfect joy. The stars are setting, and lo! in a trice the caravan will wend its way.

*

To me, the Lover—what is sunshine but a haunting gloom? What is the loveliness of nature but an aching desolation? What are the roses but so many bleeding hearts? What are the warblings of the nightingale but muffled lamentations? All is vain and hollow, dull and dreary, where *thou* art not.

*

Each day bringeth its burden, each joy its pain. But pain and burden notwithstanding—let us love while we may.

*

Greetings to thee, my unattained Love, Greetings to thee! The Lode-star of my thoughts wert thou, through countless changes of seasons; my goddess of idolatry through the ringing aisles of Time. And now that thou art wholly beyond attainment, shall I cover thy memory with laurel-wreaths, or build thee a sepulchre in my heart? No fading, perishable gift will be thine; but thine will be a place in my heart, a sacred, hallowed shrine.

*

Wilt thou not lift the veil and disclose thy radiant vision? Wilt thou not say a word and ease the sorrow of my stricken soul? Wilt thou withhold the realisation of my fondest wish, my most cherished dream?

*

Fling, fling cares away; bring forth the cup! Come, Beloved, come! for the sun of life is westering; come ere it declineth, and the great Night broodeth over all.

*

I call thee—wilt thou not hearken to Love's voice? I recount Love's pain to thee—wilt thou not allay it? Wilt thou not hear and heal? Wilt thou not comfort and cheer a love-sick soul?

*

The nightingale in the bower, the moth round the flame! Lo, there, in life, what the poets have conceived in dream—Love's unquenchable ardour, Love's intense self-sacrificing fanaticism.

*

Death laughs at us while we are dazed, stunned, bereft! Fates mock at us while we lie helpless—their prey! In this encircling wreckage, ruin; let thy love, at least, be one unfailing beacon, one sustaining strength divine.

*

Heart! that sacred home which lovers' secrets enshrineth! Heart! that Temple Divine which our holiest treasures entombeth! Heart! that holy chain which linketh man to God! Heart, suffering heart! How glorious art thou, and yet so red with wounds!

*

We value not those whom we possess. We grieve for them when they are gone. We long, when longing eyes bring them not. We repent, when repentance is of no avail.

*

I rose at the first streak of dawn. I enjoyed nature's soft, virginal caress, I heard the joyous carolling of the birds: but for me its message was this: Brief is life, brittle is joy, sure is death, and nothing else is sure.

*

Nothing weighs more heavily in life, sighed the lover, nothing weighs more heavily than separation; for doth it not set two loving, yearning hearts on thorns, and make this mute earth a hell?

*

Nothing can comfort, assuage, or heal the wound which loving love inflicts; nothing can soften, allay, or cure the pain which blighted hope begets. Let joy be a prayer, and so let sorrow be.

*

The secrets of fate neither I may read nor thou. They are a mystery which none born of woman can solve. Behind the veil our destiny is fixed, unalterably fixed, and that destiny we must needs fulfil. When the veil at last lifts, lo! dust and ashes am I, and so art thou.

*

Union of heart and heart, flawless friendship, unfailing love! Vain thought! On this little raft of mortality, sailing unto eternities, of fellow-travellers we see myriads, of trusty confidants none.

*

To whom buildest thou these towering temples and frowning mosques? To whom prayest thou with folded hands and bended knees? To whom offerest thou this curling incense, this streaming blood? Thou holdest back thy gifts from those that need; thou showerest them on Him that needeth not.

*

Let foolish fears cease; let idle cares go. Enjoy the shining hour; for many, many a hope setteth with the setting sun.

*

At dawn the nightingale thus besought the red, moon-washed rose: put thy glory aside, for full many a rose like thee, in this garden, has had its brief, fleeting day.

*

Youthful Love! how fair, how self-contained it is! No calculations blur its golden dreams; no flaw mars its comely countenance; no forebodings of evil ruffle its sweet placidity. Detached from the world, it stands ineffably self-centred, mightily self-reliant, defiantly alone: but soon, too soon, alas! comes Life's rude awakening, the horrid, disillusioning sway of Reality.

* *

The mind museth over things that have been, over things that are; the heart swelleth and the tears flow.

*

I floated on the Tide of Time—whither I knew not. Around me, restless, rose and fell the Waters of Uncertainty. Bound my barque for an unknown shore. I had heart-breaks, achings, fears; peace I had none. And so is Life, for such as give not an undivided love to Thee!

There are times—moments worth riches untold—when youth revives, and the world puts forth for us a vernal freshness. What can have recalled the glorious past? what evoked our sunny spring-tide? 'Tis the memory of some half-forgotten sighs; some joyous tears; some faded dreams.

*

What can I render—what homage or offering—with halting tongue and trembling heart of mine—when the whole creation sings thy praise, and in thy love rejoices? And yet, that which flows from the heart—spontaneous, unbidden—is not that a gift, worthy even of Thee?

*

Shall I seek pleasure? alas! pleasures pall; shall I seek riches? they bring no joy; shall I seek wisdom?

wisdom sheddeth no light. Where is peace, O Heaven? where sweet content?

*

A glance, a word, a smile, a kiss—any one of these may capture, conquer, crush the heart.

*

Would I expose my wounds, or voice my sorrows? No, surely not. My wounds are wounds dealt by friendly hands; my sorrows are sorrows born of idle fears.

*

Tears! ye relieve the suffering heart, ye wash the bleeding wounds, ye sanctify earthly love, ye bless the dearest joys, and uphold us in the hour of sorest trial. Truest of friends, sweetest of comforters! ye are, for man, what none else is for him; in power peerless, in compassion God-like.

*

There is no picking and choosing here, no shaping or altering the course. We bring with us our own chart, and according thereto we steer our barque.

*

Fret! Fret for whom? Fret for what? why fret at all, since fretting brings no fruit? No tears will change; no prayers will alter, that which is to be. For what is writ, is writ.

*

I take things as they come, without undue rejoicing, without complaint. Love, hatred, weal and woe—naught elateth, naught depresseth me. Like ripples on the water; like breezes in the air, they come—the vicissitudes of life—and they go!

*

Pitilessly do the eyes reveal what the lips so jealously guard—love's secrets sweet, love's anguish divine.

*

Restore our youth, O God, restore our youth! *That* ours—any one is welcome to thy garlands, thy laurels, even thy crowns.

*

Here once was thy abode, Love's ineffable home! But now, how changed!—a desolate, dismal waste! Pause awhile, O unheeding Time, Pause awhile and let me mourn and weep: for sore distress is mine.

*

These wakeful eyes—Ah, how they have watched! This suffering heart—Ah, how it hath bled! And all in vain!

*

Recallest thou the promises that youth held out to thee? Barren of fruit, false, mocking; whither are they flown? How vivid, how heart-breaking, the contrast between those golden dreams of the Past, and the lurid, sickening realities of the Present—with that Loved-One gone!

*

I have loved and sighed. I have suffered and endured: I doubted how I would fare, and fear seized me through and through. Yet I have borne it all; only, dearest, ask not how?

*

Raven tresses, snowy neck, red lips, and soft, caressing eyes! Not one of these, Beloved, not one would I exchange for all the hoarded wealth of Kaiqobād or Kaikhūsrū.

*

Let us sit together, Beloved, though it were for a moment; let us sit together, and gather visionary flowers in the Field of Time; let us weave them, and wear them, and press them closer to our heart; for the rolling Tide of Death, soon, full too soon, alas, effaces and engulfs us all!

*

Enough of griefs! Drown them in the sparkling cup! Let me clasp thee to my bosom, and hold thee locked in fond embrace! Griefs will come, and griefs will go—let us quaff the Nectar of Life, while the chalice is in our hands!

*

On this stage where thou and I alternately watch and play. Here, strange, stirring scenes we see. Here, the unresting tide of Life glideth on before our eyes, sweeping away things profane and things divine. Here, honour is but a name; love a mere rollicking pastime; religion a hypocritical farce. We love the play until the bandage falls from our eyes, and then we discern that all is sound and fury, tinsel, counterfeit—mirage!

*

One by one our powers fail us; one by one our kinsmen, even our friends, forsake us! Everything here below seems shifting, changing, vanishing! Nothing remains the same. Nothing endures! Ah, what a kaleidoscope is life! Truly hath the poet sung: "Like water we come, like wind we go!"

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

WILL EXCHANGE EVER RISE TO TWO SHILLINGS GOLD?

Will exchange ever rise to 2*s.* gold? How is it that the Government attempt to raise and stabilise the exchange-rate fails to-day, although a similar attempt was successful in 1898? These have been for sometime the common enquiries of the educated public to the students of Economic Science. An answer to these questions is attempted below.

Up till 1893, as silver was freely coined into rupees at the Indian mints and there was no restriction on the movements of silver, in the very same way as gold was freely coined in London at the fixed rate of 4·25 sovereigns for 1 oz. of gold with no restriction on its movements, the value of the rupee in sovereigns depended on the world-ratio of exchange between gold and silver. Consequently our exchange fluctuated along with the world-fluctuations of this ratio.

Since 1873 owing to Germany's demonetisation of silver and other causes, there was a continuous increase in the demand for gold and a corresponding decrease in the demand for silver; this naturally led to a continuous fall in our exchange.

In order to check this instability which was detrimental alike to Indian trade and commerce as well as to Government finance, the following remedy was applied. Indian mints were closed to the free coinage of silver and fresh coinage was suspended. (We may note here that the rupee fell in the meantime from about 2s. in 1873 to 1*s.* 3*d.* in 1892.) Now this measure meant that the rupee which was so long linked with silver was unlinked from it and given an artificial monopoly value, dependent solely on its limited supply together with the demand for it, and absolutely independent of its silver content. The value of the rupee,

however, fell to 1*s.* 1*d.* in 1894 but steadily began to increase thereafter until it was stabilised at 1*s.* 4*d.*

Now evidently it is necessary for us to see (*i*) why the value of the rupee fell and (*ii*) how it could rise thereafter, while the price of the silver was still continuously falling and (*iii*) how it could be stabilised at 1*s.* 4*d.*

As to (*i*) and (*ii*) we must remember that the government measures made the rupee independent of its silver content and hence the rise and fall of the rupee had no connection with the price of silver. And further fall of the rupee means that the Government attempt to give it an artificially higher value failed; but why? It is because the supply of the rupees, *i.e.*, the total circulating currency, was evidently greater at the time than there was demand for it at the price-level then existing. It is well-known that an artificially higher price can be given to a commodity by a monopolist only when he can restrict its supply, so that the marginal demand price of its restricted supply is greater than the ruling price of its existing supply in the market. So it is clear that mere fixation of the existing supply cannot raise its value, it can only check its fall, provided the demand conditions remain the same; it is not merely fixation of the existing supply, no mere postponement of its further addition but restriction and curtailment of its existing supply is what is essentially necessary for raising its value. So the falling off of the value of the rupee means that its demand must have fallen off most probably owing to a change in the volume of trade. Its later recovery means that the demand for money must have increased with the growing prosperity of Indian trade, until it gradually rose to 1*s.* 4*d.*

The stabilisation of the rupee at 1*s.* 4*d.* means that its further appreciation in value was put a stop to. While there is a continual increase in demand owing to a growing trade, it can easily be met by fresh coinage or addition of currency. But could the Government check its fall, had the

volume of trade continued to contract just as it did from 1892 to 1894? Evidently, it could not do so by those measures alone.

This analysis would help us to form a correct estimation of the Government measures that were undertaken last year in the so-called pursuance of the recommendations of the Babington Smith Committee and also to explain their failure. This Committee, it is to be remembered, was appointed in May, 1919, to solve the difficulties that had been troubling the Indian exchange and currency for some time, the most important items of which were two in number:

(1) depreciation of sterling in terms of gold, which made it impossible for the rupee to retain a fixed value with both; and

(2) rise in the price of silver to unprecedented heights, which necessitated a continual adjustment of exchange with a view to protect the rupee from going to the melting pot.

The report of the Committee was published early in February 1920, and with them an announcement by the Secretary of State in which it was decided to link the rupee to gold instead of sovereign and to fix and stabilise its value at 2*s.* gold (11·3 grains of gold).

The actual course of the market rate of exchange from the 5th February, 1920, when the Secretary of State began to sell Reverse Councils at the rate of 2*s.* gold, until to-day is well-known.

The first thing that attracts one's attention in this connection is the Government's futile attempt to link the rupee to 11·3 grains of gold, as recommended by the Committee. This failure has been very disastrous in its effect, for it ended in huge losses to India, in heavy deficits of the Government finance. It is, of course, very easy to criticise a measure after it has failed and it is not our business here so much to criticise the Government for its failure as to correctly read the underlying causes thereof.

On the 31st of January, 1920, as Sir James Wilson points out in an article in the "Asiatic Review" of January last, the value of the rupee in India was 6·7 grains gold and the value of its silver content was 7 grains. At first sight it seems incredible, indeed that in face of this fact Government would undertake on the 5th February, to sell Reverse Councils at the rate of 11·3 grains gold. In other words, Government undertook to sell 11·3 grains of gold per rupee while the market-rate was 6·7 only. Certainly no sane man can ever imagine to bring down the price of gold in this way. But there is another side of the shield: it may be that the Government in this way intended to restrict the rupee-supply and thus to enhance its value artificially in gold. Even in this latter case the Government had no justification to sell Reverse Councils at that rate, while its demand was persistently strong even at a rate considerably lower.

On closer study the Government measure may not be found, however, to be as foolish as it at first sight appears. We are, of course, entitled to argue that the recommendations of the B. S. Committee to fix the rupee at 11·3 grains gold was based upon the hypothesis that (*i*) silver would continue to command a very high price for at least some time to come and (*ii*) that India's trade-balance would continue to be favourable to her, and consequently the Government cannot be justified in adopting this recommendation *in toto*, if at the time of its adoption the facts were not in consonance with these hypotheses or ran contrary to them. Well, the latter hypothesis was certainly falsified by facts, for, from January, 1920, onwards, the demand for sterling remittance set in (*vide* Currency Report, 1919-20, p. 8). But if this can be condoned, Government's adoption of the value of the rupee at 11·3 grains gold on the 5th February would appear to be neither foolish nor rash. For we find the average price of bar silver in New York was highest in the month of January, 1920, when it was $132\frac{13}{16}$ cents, say 133 cents per ounce. This shows that

the price in gold of 165 grains of silver (the silver-content of a rupee) was 11·47 grains, *i.e.*, it was above 11·3 grains gold. Now the cent price of bar silver which makes a rupee content correspond to 11·3 grains gold=130·98 cents, say, 131 cents. And this calculation shows that for three months, from December, 1919 to February, 1920, the average price of silver was higher than this though at other times it was considerably lower. So, early in February, 1920, at the time of the adoption of this recommendation the Government had a sufficient show of justification to adopt it.

Wherein then lay the mistake of the Government? First, it lay in their decision to sell Reverse Councils at all; secondly, in blindly fixing the rate without paying any heed to Indian market conditions. The Government ought to have ascertained *first* as to whether this demand for Reverse Councils was temporary or not. But the Government mistook this adverse balance to be a temporary phenomenon and inasmuch as the mercantile community did also share this view, the Government may be excused for this. The second mistake of the Government cannot however be so lightly passed over. True it is that the New York price of silver in December, 1919, and in January, 1920, does give to the Government an apparent show of justification: but this does not bear scrutiny. For, import of silver was restricted before the 5th February and there were prohibitions on its export. So the silver market in India was an isolated and closed one. Though the average price of silver in New York rose to so high a level in January that a rupee content equalled 11·47 grains gold, yet on the 31st of January it was worth in India only 7 grains gold. Was it a wonder then that the demand for Reverse Councils was so strong and persistent? What fool is there who would not like to purchase 11·3 grains gold with only 7 grains, or more correctly with 6·7 grains for this was the gold equivalent of a rupee, although its silver content was worth as much as 7 grains?

Thirdly, Government ought to have foreseen that exchange could not have been raised to 11·3 grs. gold, unless it was in a position to do either of these two things: (*i*) to undertake to sell Reverse Councils to an unlimited extent; (*ii*) to reduce the then existing supply of rupees by about one half so as to enhance its price from 6·7 to 11·3 grains gold. The first course was obviously impossible and the adoption of the second was fraught with many difficulties. But it must be remembered that these were the only courses that could lead to success. To put the rupee at its newer value, one must either lower the price of gold or enhance the purchasing power of the rupee. So the Government ought not to have set their hands at all unless they had courage enough or had thought it wise enough to restrict the rupee supply to the full extent the measure demanded.

But subsequent events show that the Government did make no attempt to restrict the rupee supply, for they did not allow the deflation of the currency caused by the sale of the Reverse Councils to enhance the purchasing power of the rupee and went on adding to the currency as lavishly as before. This policy of the Government must be denounced as inconsistent with their avowed policy of enhancing the value of the rupee to 11·3 grains gold. If the latter course was known to them as impracticable, they had no right to squander crores of rupees in an experiment doomed to failure. This is inexcusable. But the truth seems to be that the financial experts of the India Government had no clear notion of the relation of the volume of currency to its purchasing power. They had pinned their faith wholly on the trade balance theory and imagined that a favourable trade balance would enable the Government to make the 2*s.* gold rate effective (*vide* para. 4 of the Government of India's Reply, dated the 16th November, 1920, to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce).

A more fatal mistake in the currency notion of the Government cannot be imagined. If the finance gods at

Simla obstinately stick to this mistaken theory of theirs, some more crores of rupees would be wasted away in another unsuccessful attempt at the time of India's favourable balance. It is necessary to realise that no amount of favourable balance would ever enhance the value of the rupee without curtailment of its supply, nor, in fact, it can. What a favourable balance can do is this: it can stabilise an exchange rate, when this rate has been fixed in consonance with the purchasing power of the rupee. But it can never enhance this rate.

Some of our readers might imagine that if in 1898 it was possible to fix the rate of exchange at a higher level, why should it not be so now? A little careful attention to the analysis of the causes that led to the stability of exchange in 1898 would explain this apparent anomaly. It is to be remembered that the volume of currency that is necessary to finance the trade at a given price level depends upon the volume of that trade. So if the volume of trade expands with no change in the price-level, it would create a demand for additional currency. Now if this demand for currency be fully met, the existing price-level would remain undisturbed; but if this demand be not satisfied, it would make money 'tight' and price-level would gradually fall, *i.e.*, the value of the rupee would rise. This was exactly what happened in 1894-98. Stoppage of further addition to currency together with the growing volume of Indian trade led to the enhanced value of the rupee. Why then a similar measure would not succeed now? First, because the range of difference between the current and the proposed value now is much greater, being from 6 grains of gold to 11·3. And secondly, because political and economic unrest throughout the country would not allow the Government to reverse the policy to which it had committed itself, *viz.*, the policy of diluted currencies and inflated prices.

So it is clear now that the ascribing of failure (to make 2*s.* gold rate effective) to India's unfavourable trade balance is

wholly wrong. Even with a favourable balance our exchange position would not have been appreciably better.

Now we have answered the second question, *viz.*, the reason of the failure of the Government measure for raising and stabilising exchange at 2*s.* gold; and incidentally also the first. Let us, however, be more explicit. As to whether the rate would ever rise to 2*s.* gold, it is evident from our previous analysis that *the par of exchange always does and always must mainly correspond with the purchasing-power of the rupee.* A little reflection would show that the trade-balance theory does only explain the fluctuations of the rate from the par (within the range of the specie-points) and not the determination of this par itself. So it is clear that exchange can never rise unless the value of the rupee rises.

Now the value of the rupee, as we have already indicated, can be enhanced either (*i*) by the contraction of currency or (*ii*) by refusing to meet its further demand that improved trade-conditions may subsequently occasion. The first course as we have seen, the Government did not pursue last year, although the time was most opportune for it, probably because it was not found expedient in their opinion. If they did not find it expedient then, certainly it will not be found expedient now. Public expenditure, both civil and military, is running with an amazing acceleration; any retrenchment there seems unthinkable. The labourers and wage-earners are fighting hard to exact higher rates of remuneration; they are enforcing their terms successfully, wherever their services are difficult to dispense with. Struggles are going on everywhere for the adjustment of incomes to a newer level of prices. This increased level of prices, in short, has come to stay and any appreciable contraction of currency is therefore impracticable and contraction to such huge an extent as a two-shillings-gold rupee would require is simply unimaginable.

The adoption of the second course may indeed succeed in raising the value of the rupee to some extent, but its

enhancement to the extent of 2*s.* gold is extremely improbable; and when we remember that this always involves a very slow and tedious process, its probability recedes almost to the vanishing point. So we see our exchange is never likely to rise to 2*s.* gold.

We have brought our inquiry to a close. But the readers may, very naturally, ask, "we do not care so much for a high exchange as for a stable exchange; can our exchange be made stable and if so, at what rate and when?"

In our opinion an attempt should be made to stabilise the exchange at 1*s.* 4*d.* gold, as soon as the balance of indebtedness shows itself unmistakably in our favour. Any rate higher than this is not likely to be effective in the near future and hence should not be attempted. And this should not be done before the balance of indebtedness permanently returns in our favour, as it soon should. Stability will be impossible to maintain if this balance continues to be persistently unfavourable. So the Government should wait till then. It was wise on the part of the Government not to yield to the clamour for re-introducing the sale of Reverse Councils; any further sale would have meant further disaster. The Government as well as the public should both remember that the exchange rate would in the main always correspond to the purchasing power of the rupee. It is too rigid and too mechanical a law to yield to any consideration. Any attempt to ignore it must fail.

There is reason to believe that it will be possible to raise the present value of the rupee to 1*s.* 4*d.* gold; if not at once, then by stages, *viz.*, *first*, by linking it with sterling and *then* along with the recovery of sterling with gold. And if the Government condescends to link our rupee *first* to 1*s.* 4*d.* sterling and immediately declares its intention to do so, the time may not be far distant when stability would be in sight. An announcement like this is likely to restore confidence in the rupee and this in its turn will very likely improve our export trade.

The Government coffers still hold a considerable quantity of gold, the nominal value of which is much below its real market price, due to the reckoning of the rupee at 11·3 grains gold. This altered value of the rupee would at once free a considerable portion of this metal, and if this be utilised to cancel as much as possible, of the 33 crores of (*vide* para. 34 of the Budget Statement for 1921-22) unbacked notes that the Government of India printed last year (and thus inflated the currency), the stability of our exchange at this rate will be fairly assured. But definite steps to give practical effect to this rate must not be undertaken by the Government, as we have repeatedly said, until the balance returns in our favour.

PRAFULLACHANDRA GHOSH

THE SNAKE CHARMER'S DAUGHTER.

On the banks of a river whose waters run sluggish and muddy, twenty miles from the nearest town—twenty miles from anywhere—a collection of mud huts stood huddled together. The huts were not a bit nice—that is to say, they were not of the newest nor driest. Neither did their inhabitants look any too prosperous. The largest of the huts was rented by old Chunee Lal who scraped new skins—and his brother. It was not pleasant work, but steady. In the smallest hut lived Hera and her old grandfather, the snake-charmer. A snake-charmer's earnings are more than a little precarious, and the two often went hungry. Hera could handle the snakes quite as well as old Ram, and so accompanied him from village to village. One other went with them curled up in the waist-cloth Hera tucked tightly around her—and that was Bela. Flat-headed, with small glittering eyes, Bela measured the unprofessional length of six inches, and as Ram pointed out was quite useless in the matter of impressing an audience. He had been exactly three inches when Hera found him curled on a stone—asleep in the sun. And from the moment he curled as contentedly around her finger she claimed him hers. He was the only plaything moreover she possessed, for fifteen is the age of womanhood in the East, and Ram had already heard whispers of marriage from two directions. Hera remained oblivious, however, to either of the two suitors, Rai Dass, whom she regarded with tolerant amusement, for was he not as old, if not older than, Ram himself? And Khaitan, whom all feared for his strength and who was never sober. But Khaitan had money and to Ram, who remembered only a life of struggling starvation, money was as a god. So he favoured Khaitan's suit and chid the girl for avoiding one who could so easily provide all the comforts of life. Hera's

thoughts, however, centred elsewhere. Elsewhere to where the river broadened widely and a fisherman cast his nets at dawn of each day. He was a light-hearted fisherman too, who sang at his work and lived in a hut perched high on the banks of the river. One never-to-be-forgotten day the waters had swirled a struggling object past the bamboo raft which supported him and his nets. So Bhim saved a life and formed a friendship which grew deeper with the passing months. While in Hera's eyes the two-roomed hut sheltered the bravest man she had ever known—for had he not rescued her at the risk of his own life?

When the yellow marigold flowers bloomed in their profusion around the little stone temple, Ram received Bhim's offers of marriage—with indifference. Bhim was but a fisherman. So the weeks passed uneventfully except that the weather grew ever more sultry than was its wont. There were whispers of rainless days to come. For days the sun blazed in an unclouded sky. When the drought fell, those who could, had long made their preparations for what was to happen. In the hut of Chunee Lal the three-inch wick floating in its small oil-filled reservoir burned all night while the two brothers scraped the last skins clean—for money was needed to buy grain before it rose in price beyond the reach of all. Gafoor who owned sundry small plots of land had already collected and sold the miserable little white *brinjals* which he knew full well would never grow to a purple largeness. The crop of small brown potatoes was hastily dug and sold too. All worked except Ram. *He* sold the few remaining silver ornaments he still possessed and bought his grain of the very oarsest. Yet was the quantity small for two. From village
o village Ram tramped playing the weird high notes of the erpent-dance. But none were there to listen and the coppers
ned girded around the lean brown bodies. Even the
n laboured in the fields whilst children worked indus-
mixing and piling up the dung cakes for future firing.

A wood fire would soon be a luxury unobtainable. After three weeks of blazing heat the last green thing disappeared. For three weeks longer Ram's store of food held out. When a week later the river shrank to a rivulet, Bhim hung up his nets and left for the nearest town. Ram might have gone too had it not grown too late, for of the serpents two were dead and two escaped—he half suspected Hera had in mercy let them go to seek their food how they could—but said naught. The girl had already started roaming in company with the other village children the strips of jungle land in the hope of finding the wild guava, banana, or jack-fruit which might by luck be growing there. With her went the cherished Bela, hid in the folds of her bodice, invisible except for eyes and wicked flat head. Once a day Hera provided him a meal of some sort—and she, who would take naught from others for herself, milked the goats when none were near that he might have a draught of his favourite drink.

It was when Hera found the first dead paddy-bird lying with its claws upturned to the sky, when she and Ram had starved for two nights and a day, that Khaitan urged his desire of a speedy marriage. Perchance he had waited for this very time. Perchance he knew the girl hated him—he whom all the village hated. Anyway, Ram said naught, but Hera watching the old grandfather, wept and agreed. Bhim was away, none knew where—and those who went from the village seldom returned. So preparations for the marriage feast were set in motion, and Khaitan's loud blustering voice could be heard daily issuing from Ram's hovel. More than once already had Khaitan laid rough hands on the village children —but none dared say a word, for was he not landlord and owner of the holes they lived in? His manner towards th girl changed too, and he grew ever more rough and bullyin as the days passed. Once did he even tear from her grasp playmate Bela and fling him on the ground vowing he sl die—which he would have done, had not Hera's quick fi

effected a timely rescue. But ever after Bela's eyes shot points of fire and his hiss was sharply perceptible whenever Khaitan's loud voice sounded in the near vicinity. Ram laughed at the tiny thing's rage. "Lo! he is too small to have poison in him," he would declare. Two days before the wedding Khaitan worked himself into a tipsy fury. At the door of the date-leaf hut wherein the toddy sellers resided, he sang songs and uttered oaths which caused the older women of the village to shake their heads and regard the young bride-to-be with compassion. It was well for Ram that the river ran a rivulet—and the deepest tank for miles around looked a puddle—else Hera might have stilled her fears and shudders in the waters which were not. But no tragedy happened—and the wedding took place at the end of the second day. Throughout the night the bridegroom, hopelessly intoxicated, snored the hours away, while Hera dry-eyed, sat huddled in a corner, awaiting the dawning day and whatever it might bring forth.

The first rays of the rising sun brought with it gladness and grief. It was Bhim's voice calling her name which roused her from her state of stupefied misery. Out in the sunlight she listened to his tale; away beyond in the big town there was good work waiting and he had returned, alas, too late to take her back there with him. Just how too late he was, Khaitan (now brought to consciousness by the babble of tongues) told him with curses and threats. Hera would return to town, or anywhere, with *him* in the future. The sight of Bhim may perchance have infuriated Khaitan, for, rushing the hut, he vowed the girl should return to his home ediately. "For thy rags and tatters are ready enough," outed, flinging out the miserable little bundles which lay ed in a corner. An earthen vessel still containing a small qu ntity of the night's toddy caught his eye. Raising it to his lips, he drained it dry—the crash with which it shattered to bits as it touched the ground prevented the gathered

on-lookers from hearing a faint peculiar rumble away to the East. Ram raised his voice in faint protest that the girl be not borne away so rudely—but was thrust aside with a foul word. At her husband's rough command Hera, terrified, lifted her possessions one by one, but as she did so—the sound of a sharp hiss fell on the ears of Khaitan. It was Bela. A look of redoubled fury leaped into the man's eyes. With a savage growl, before the horrified villagers, Khaitan's hand shot forth to the red bodice where Bela lay curled. There was a sound of tearing and a cry from the girl. Bhim raised a brawny fist—but stopped short. Six inches of enraged swaying muscle and sinew had reared itself on Hera's neck. The small eyes glittered evil and the wicked flat head stiffened and struck—once, twice, three times. There was a gasp from the collected group, this was better than a snake-dance. Khaitan's hand with three red dots sank to his side nerveless. Twenty minutes later his nerveless body slid to the ground in a heap. Twenty more, and Razak, the headman of the village who had seen many die, covered the face of what an hour ago had once been Khaitan's.

And now it was over—a tragedy was no longer in progress to obscure the senses of the many present. The low rumblings away to the East made themselves persistently heard to the joyful listeners. Delighted eyes watched the big black cloud which had so long been unobserved spread itself quickly across the horizon. And Bhim watching the tears which fell from a glad girl's eyes, marked them full in company with the first drops of long prayed-for rain.

MIRIEM KHUNDKAR

AUGUST STRINDBERG[1]

[1849-1912]

If we are to think of a keynote to the character of Strindberg as a great literary force of his age and country we feel inclined to say that in a very real sense Strindberg stands before us as a solitary personality detached from the world around him by his extraordinary originality and independence, his abhorrence of sham and his combative spirit. His whole life from start to finish was an uninterrupted series of struggles—of conflict with the members of his own family, with his Professors at the University, with the conservative section of his community, with the general run of the reading public and lastly with the critics who were so slow to recognise his merits.

His rebellious temper and the disconcerting novelty and boldness of his ideas and views kept him in a state of severe isolation from his contemporaries whose unsympathetic attitude embittered his life, accentuated his self-assertive individualism and almost morbidly developed in him an over-critical temper.

He also became pessimistic and cynical for a time under the stress of his arduous conflict with the existing order.

The influence of materialistic science the study of which he pursued with keen zest made him decidedly sceptical.

But later in life the meaning of life's struggles and vicissitudes gradually became clear in the vision of a higher stage to which the activities of earthly existence appeared to be preparatory and he found peace and repose for his troubled soul in a mystic faith.

[1] Based on Edwin Björkman's English Translation of Strindberg's Plays in 3 volumes (Duckworth & Co.).

We are told in his "Creditors" that "suffering purifies, sorrow ennobles" and in his "Dream Play" that "in order to free themselves from the earth-matter, the offspring of Brahma seek privation and suffering. There you have suffering as a liberator."

A fitting close to such a career was the happy life of a recluse, retired from the busy haunts of men in a solitary but tranquil home enlivened by regular visits from his children (always dear to the heart of Strindberg[1]) and sweetened by his intense love of music and flowers.[2]

It is a noteworthy fact that the poor tradesman's family in which August Strindberg was born cared little for social restrictions. The seed was thus sown in the future dramatist very early in life of a revolt against class distinctions based on inequality of social status more or less artificial. The years of his childhood were again years of stern struggle with pecuniary difficulties on the one hand and on the other with the people around him, from whom he usually stood aloof having little in common with them—a struggle calculated to rouse later in life the latent combative energy of an indomitable spirit.

Small wonder that in his teens young Strindberg became noted for his extreme sensitiveness to unjust outside interference or external pressure and also for his intense hatred of and revolt against every form of injustice and wrong. In "The Link" (1877), Sc. vii, one of the jurors, Alexander Ekland, says "A case like this, where one not only innocent, but offended against, has to take the punishment, while the thief has his so-called honour restored, may easily bring about that people grow less forbearing toward their fellow-men." In the next scene the farmer Alexandersson (fined for slander)

[1] *Cf.* "There Are Crimes and Crimes" (1899) Act II, i. Maurice to Henriette—Astarte, now you demand the sacrifice of women" (*i.e.*, of Jeanne). "You shall have them, but if you ask for innocent children, too, then I'll send you packing." Plays, Second Series, p. 35.

[2] *Cf.* "The Dream Play" (1902).

bursts out in indignation—"Who'd believe it, that justice means honour for the thief and a flogging for him that's robbed! Damn it!" The realistic description of the labourers' lot in his "Dream Play" (1902)—poor sufferers who are doubly punished, once in being born poor and again through the consequences of their poverty—brings home to us Strindberg's keen sense of injustice.

In "The Dream Play" (1902) we also come across a more pronounced bit of autobiographical hint in the Officer's complaint that "that one wrong" (unjust punishment undergone by him) "gave a false twist to my whole life." So deep was the impression made upon Strindberg's imagination by this sense of injustice and unjust punishment that the topic recurs in several of his plays. In "Pariah" (1889) Mr. Y (sentenced to hard labour on a charge of forgery) remonstrates bitterly with Mr. X (who killed a man unintentionally and got off scot-free) thus:—"You have suffered a misfortune which might have brought you two years of hard labour. You have completely escaped the disgrace of being punished. And here you see before you a man—who has also suffered a misfortune—the victim of an unconscious impulse—and who has had to stand two years of hard labour for it."

The Poet in "The Dream Play" says that "I will tell that justice is not always done"—and challenges the Daughter to say if it is justice to rejoice over the return of Lena's sister from the city where she went astray but never recognise the merit of one whose health and beauty have vanished in the fulfilment of domestic duties and who is "sent to prayer-meetings to be reproached for not being perfect."

Injustice in a more acute form oppresses the poor coal-heavers—"the foundations of society"—who must "sweat as in hell so that the black coals may be had" for the kitchen stove, parlour grate, factory furnace and street lighting yet they are the people who "work the hardest, get least food; and the rich, who do nothing, get most." With

exquisite humour the author next introduces into this awful scene—"on the shores of the Mediterranean"—a gentleman who "must take a walk" to whet his appetite so that he "can eat something for dinner."

His early experiences and struggles sharpened in him a naturally keen inquisitive and questioning spirit. He remarks in the Author's Preface to "Miss Julia" (1888) "I find the joy of life in its violent and cruel struggles, and my pleasure lies in knowing something and learning something." He began to probe mercilessly and deeply into problems of individual and social life with a bold sceptical mind leaning towards pessimism and cynicism till for a time he grew reserved and self-centred. Like the Daughter of Indra in his "Dream Play" he "wanted to study men and life and see whether things were really as bad as they say." The craving to know became at this time an insatiable passion and to this may be traced the dominant note of intellectualism in several of his plays, such as, "Pariah" (1889), which has been rightly characterised as a stage presentation of an intellectual "wrestling match" in which Mr. Y is practically subjected to a searching analysis and dissection by Mr. X, "Simoom" (1888) in which Guimard falls a victim to Biskra, the Arab girl, who employs mental suggestion as a means of revenge, and "The Stronger" (1890) with its "quivering mental conflict" used as a force for transforming the destinies of men.

We stand amazed at the sight of the way in which Strindberg relentlessly employs in his naturalistic plays his extraordinary powers of keen and unerring observation. He displays the accuracy of his results in his "Pariah" in the Sherlock Holmes style of detection by Mr. X of Mr. Y's guilt. To quote the language of his superman, Gustav, (in "Creditors"), we verily watch him "dissecting a human soul and laying out its various parts on the table."[1]

[1] Plays: Second Series, p. 207.

While on this point, we may turn for a moment to plays in which Strindberg's pessimism or cynicism finds an unmistakable expression.

In "The Link" (1897 ?), Sc. iii, we have an instance of extreme cynical humour in the Lawyer's advice to the incriminated servant girl as to how she must fasten by means of a legal technicality a charge for slander on her own master whom she has robbed. The witnesses are advised to save their conscience by taking the precaution of swearing by keeping only "their fingers on the Bible"! Yet there is an elaborate service conducted by the Pastor as a prelude to this mockery of administration of justice. In the 4th Scene the Pastor's excuse is that one gets used to such things "after having tended souls for 40 years"! Besides, his belief is that "all men lie"—some even from "sheer kindliness." In the 8th Scene the Lawyer condemns the baffled master as a downright fool because he loses the suit by adhering to truth! In the 13th Scene when the young inexperienced Judge's strong sense of duty troubles his soul that "the laws appear to him a couple of centuries behind his ideas of right" and in despair he proposes to give up his profession, the Pastor consoles his troubled spirit with the cynical counsel that a few years of service will make it easy for him "to crush human fates like egg-shells."

The "Dream Play" (1902) is also full of pessimistic notes. The Prologue tells us that the speech of the human race "sounds as if it has no happy ring"—"for even their mother tongue is named complaint." In the opening scene the Officer observes, "Every joy that life brings has to be paid for with twice its measure of sorrow." In the same key the Mother complains, "Oh this life! If you do anything nice, there is always somebody who finds it nasty. If you act kindly to one, it hurts another"—a sentiment echoed by the Officer too who cries, "Oh Lord! what a fuss there is as soon as anybody wants to do anything new or great" and the

Lawyer finishes off with "my dreams are of nothing but crimes"—"it is misery to be man!" Last but not least is the suggestion that this world is crazy—"it is a bedlam" where "justice becomes the undoing of men and equity often turns into iniquity." The refrain of the whole play is practically this that "men are to be pitied." Foulstrand is delineated with hideous realism. Strindberg seems to carry here his cynicism to excess and even his Fairhaven proves to be disappointing on a closer view as there is "not one happy person in that paradise" and the Husband wishes to die when his joy is full because "at the heart of happiness grows the seed of disaster." With bitter irony the Lawyer says to the Daughter "Once a liberator appeared and he was nailed to the cross by all the right-minded."

Not to multiply instances, we shall next make only a bare reference to "The Burned Lot" (1907) in which the Stranger lays bare with relentless realistic touches life as it is, especially in his conversation with the Student and in his answer to the query of Mrs. Walström "if he ever thought it pleasant to live" (Sc. ii) and to "The Dance of Death" (1901) in which Captain Edgar's philosophy of life consists in the belief that all life is horrible and that "as long as the (human) mechanism holds together the thing to do is to kick and fight with hands and feet, until there is nothing left" and when the end comes "a wheelbarrow of dust has to be spread on the garden beds," that's all.

The next important factor in Strindberg's growth is the death of his mother when he was only thirteen, an event which gave a new turn to his serious mind and he henceforth began to brood on religious questions which kept a firm hold on him up to 1867-68 and shaped his later life.

While at the Upsala University he was strongly influenced by Darwinism, then a new force, though it was afterwards condemned by him as "veterinary philosophy and animal science." In his middle life he continued to be a scientific

devotee of truth for truth's sake somewhat after the style of Huxley and in matters social and political his earlier views were noted for an over-developed individualism partly based on the Revolutionary abstract ideal of man's inalienable primary rights so common at one time with the followers of Payne, Godwin and even J. S. Mill. A distinct leaning towards materialism was the outcome of the scientific bent given to his genius by his studies and interests in life about this time.

Literary Career: First Phase
[1870-1885]

At the age of twenty-five Strindberg became drawn to literature while yet making tentative efforts to find his life's mission. His preoccupation with social problems now proved a decisive factor in his life. His first novel (written æt. 30) in which he describes this period of tentative literary activities is remarkable equally for social criticism. For a time Swedish events and adventures and the Swedish people made a strong appeal to his imagination and he made himself conspicuous by his frank analysis of the prevailing social and political conditions of his country laid bare with deep insight and fearless candour.

At this time virtually his dramatic career may be said to begin though the turning point of his artistic career is marked by a volume of short stories on modern conditions of marriage and married life and the relation of the sexes written about 1884. This was the year when his mental condition began to show signs of assuming an alarming turn. His interest in the burning social topic of the day indicates the gradual growth in him of a decided critical attitude towards the woman problem destined afterwards (from 1886 to 1894) to develop into a definite hostility to Feminists and the Feminine movement.

We may just refer here to "The Link" (1897) "The Creditors (1890)," "The Stronger" (1890), "There are Crimes and Crimes" (1899) and "The Dance of Death" (1901).

His anti-feminine attitude is largely responsible for the unfavourable light in which womanhood is represented in Tekla's character. It is also indicated by the account of her life given by Miss Julia to Jean and in the character of Gerda, the divorced wife of the Master. Henriette too, who sacrifices Adolphe without a qualm and holds Maurice fast with something of a weird Satanic power in the toils of her Cleopatra-like charms, fares no better at his hands.

The Second Phase: Period of Naturalistic Plays [1886-1894]

His bold and free utterances on sex morality involved him in 1884 in a criminal prosecution which, though it ended in his acquittal, embittered his soul already sorely tried by his strained relation with his first wife and his conflict with the Feminists who as disciples of Ibsen and Björnson were fighting hard to remove what they sincerely considered as irrational sex disabilities resulting from conventional social inequality. The Ibsenites revolted against the iniquitous social injustice of harsh judgments pronounced on even feminine escapades in accordance with a stern moral code established by the stronger sex and relentlessly applied to women alone; while a preferential treatment was accorded to male delinquents in matters of greater heinousness or graver import. This "double code" of accepted ethics was an eyesore to the Feminists. Strindberg's became by 1886 a pronounced attitude of hostility to the Feminist movement and he was now fast moving towards a social outlook of his own.

His attitude towards the sex problem is well illustrated in many of his plays from "Miss Julia" (1888) to "The Thunderstorm" (1907).

This period marked also a distinct change in his views regarding the masses. Under the growing influence of the modern scientific spirit of Germany ending in the deification of rampant individualism, his idealistic visions about the common people gave place to the new Nietzschean idea of the need for supermen. His artistic method underwent a corresponding change and he exchanged his early romantic and idealistic art for naturalism and realism. This naturalistic phase continued vigorously up to 1896-97 and it includes 8 One-Act plays besides the highly autobiographical naturalistic tragedy of "The Link" belonging to the year (1897) of renewed literary activity after his mental crisis and representing dramatically the unhappy dissolution of his marriage (in 1891).

The intense bitterness with which Strindberg views this tragedy of the breaking of the conjugal tie comes out clearly in the Lawyer's speech in the "Dream Play" in which he says that he can stand a murder case in court but knows nothing worse than "to separate married people" for "then it is as if something cries treason against the primal force, against the source of all good, against love—"

Themes and Treatment

Sex-duel for supremacy occasionally resulting in the exploitation of man by woman—as of Adolph by Tekla in "Creditors" whom Gustav pities for having felt "the hypnotising power of skirts"—forms the theme of several experimental plays belonging to this prolific period of his dramatic creations (1886-1894) and a weird gloom pervades the plot of some of these pieces.

"Miss Julia" (1888), for instance, represents in a highly dramatic fashion a double conflict of complicated action in which the struggle between the sexes is set off with that of the growing power of superficial feminine elegance and

refinement in a really decadent social order against a solid substratum of manly vitality in the old social order which has successfully stood the test of time. The biological superiority of the male sex is vigorously maintained in the typical supremacy of the valet Jean which is explained by the general observation in the Author's Preface that "sexually he (man) is the aristocrat because of his male strength, his more finely developed senses and his capacity for taking the initiative." Similarly in "Creditors" the superman Gustav is made to assert to Tekla—"for the woman, you know, is the man's child, and if she is not, he becomes hers, and then the world turns topsy-turvy"; and once again (later on in the play) turning to the defeated Tekla, on whose moves depend the plan of Gustav the chess-player in this game, he triumphantly adds—"And why you were doomed to be fooled? Because I am stronger than you, and wiser also."

To return to "Miss Julia" with reference to the question of class distinctions. The idle notion that the barrier of birth stands insuperable between, say masters and servants, receives a rude shock in this modern "school for scandal" when these masters are made to suddenly discover that silently the moral effect of an unavoidable close contact between two artificially demarcated strata of social life is to diminish the social gulf conventionally supposed to keep the two classes for ever wide apart. The crux of the whole matter is aptly indicated by the valet Jean that "perhaps, at bottom there isn't quite so much difference as they think between one kind of people and another."

The unsuspected influences of the talk of the great ones on those held to be inferiors who never miss an opportunity of closely watching their so-called superiors—who see, hear, observe, note and exercise their natural intelligence in forming judgments on everything associated with the upper classes, and who reflect, criticise and draw conclusions from an uninterrupted succession of daily experiences—are sure to produce a social reaction both

useful and hurtful to all concerned. No rank or status, however exalted, can entirely free the great people from the infirmity of pettiness or worse exhibition of weakness and shortcomings displayed through want of self-control in unguarded moments when the *basal* human nature even in highly civilised man comes to the surface and inspite of artificially set up barriers between class and class makes the whole world kin. This intensifies in the lower classes a sense of wrong and injustice leading to a revolt against restraints and disabilities imposed on them by an effete social organisation. The unwarranted assumption of superiority by a class not essentially superior in intellect or moral fibre makes them chafe, fret and become rebellious. This process of *detection*, ever at work in society below the surface veneer of polish, refinement, aristocratic restraint and reserve, nobility of birth, is shown with relentless realism. In another play "The Link" in two scenes (sc. ii and sc. ix) the author has once more shown the nature of such a compact between the Baron and the Baroness as well as the inevitable sequence thereof in the social organism.

It is in the light of a critical attitude towards society and social problems indicated above that the inner significance and right value of such plays as "Miss Julia," pre-eminently socialistic, must be gathered. Miss Julia reveals in the history of her own life her mother's character—the relation of her parents with each other, the mother's plot against her own husband in the love intrigue she carried on with a rich brick-manufacturer, and her hatred of the male sex which led the daughter to suspect and hate men and promise never to be "a man's slave."

In "The Link" (1897)—especially sc. xvi—the effete elements are represented by the upper classes while the lower stratum of society is made to stand for what is vigorous and vitalising in life. We shall only refer to the hideous mutual recriminations into which the married pair in high life break out inspite of a previous resolution to the contrary.

The Baron and the Baroness, anxious to avoid social scandal, mutually agree to separate for one year keeping the cause a secret with them out of tender solicitude for their child—"our love that has taken flesh, the memory of our beautiful hours, the *link* that unites our souls, the common meeting ground" (sc. x). This is highly autobiographical, we may note in passing. The same note is struck repeatedly, as, for example, in the "Dream Play" where the Mother says that the thought of her children "has been my life and my reason for living—my joy and my sorrow" and also in "The Thunderstorm" (sc. i). To the presiding judge a divorce suit in which "two persons who have loved try to ruin each other" seems simply horrible—"it is like being in a slaughter-house." The parties to the suit object too late to the jury's decision when the child too is proposed to be placed under two guardians. They are in a dilemma—. "It is hard to part! And impossible to live together." Strindberg's own verdict and his feeling in the matter could not be more clearly and strongly embodied.

This powerful play on sex duel ends in a pessimistic tragic note when the Baroness finally refuses to seek shelter with her mother in her crushing misfortune. She will rather go into the woods "to scream against God who has put this infernal love into the world as a torment for human creatures" and at night into the Pastor's barn "to sleep near her child"! The demand for woman's equal rights with man is referred to by the Sheriff and the Constable in the opening scene and in sc. x, the Baron says to his wife, "my error caused you to respect me. Whether it was the male or the criminal you admired most, I don't know."

Strindberg seems to condemn a "civil marriage"—a marriage contract without a wedding ceremony resorted to in order to "steal a march on the social body and its laws." The result—"all went to pieces," and husband and wife compelled to wink at each other's infidelity for the sake of the child. But how long can the husband bear to introduce "his friend's

mistress as his wife" for the sake of appearances? The inevitable "separation" with its scandal followed. The Baron concludes (sc. xvi)—"Do you know against whom we have been fighting? You call him God, but I call him nature." This remark is very significant with regard to the author's naturalistic bent at that time.

This scientific bent of his mind created in him a living interest in a number of problems—psychological and sociological—some of which have been treated in a highly interesting manner in his dramatic works.

Strindberg's plays dwell or touch on a large variety of topics ranging from heredity and determinism, the play of the sub-conscious, mental suggestion, criminal impulse, individual responsibility, sex-duel, the marriage problem and post-marital relation to psychical experiences, mysticism and the idea of superman. Anything like a comprehensive treatment of all these aspects is out of the question here. We shall only refer to a few important items.

In "The Link" (sc. xvi) the Baroness, when blamed by her husband for the unfortunate termination of the "separation"-suit as regards the fate of their son, vehemently says in self-defence—"But did I make myself? Did I put evil tendencies, hatred and wild passions into myself! No!"

"The Burned Lot" (1907), which is partly a study in criminology, contains a character, the Stranger, whose idea is that life however shaped is full of "connections and repetitions." He avers (sc. i)—"I have met with occurrences that seemed to me absolutely inevitable, or pre-destined." Gustav (in "Creditors") holds (what Tekla calls) the enlightened idea that "whatever happens must happen"—"whatever happens is to a certain extent necessary."

Strindberg's appears to be a modified Ibsenite doctrine of heredity according to which deeds are done under the influence of a tendency in a person's nature more or less pre-determined by ancestral character.

In "Pariah" (1889) the play of the subconscious is dramatically utilised. Mr. Y explains in detail how involuntary errors (or crimes) seem to commit themselves without being *willed* for which one should not be held responsible. He considers himself the victim of an "unconscious impulse" and describes the mechanical process that led him to forge a signature showing how he unconsciously learned to reproduce the signature "automatically." Mr. X too puts forth a similar plea in extenuation of his own misdeed which he did not report being unwilling "to spoil both his own life and that of his parents for the sake of an abstract principle of justice." This Mr. X, like Gustav, is a bit of a superman who illustrates Strindberg's intellectualism. According to him "the most dangerous of human groups is that of the stupid." He remains unconvinced when Mr. Y tries to seek refuge for his crime in "an outside influence," say "mental suggestion," as the cause of his criminal act, and drives Mr. Y to the next alternative, *viz.*, "could it possibly be my primitive self which pushed to the front while my consciousness was asleep—together with the criminal will of that self, and its inability to calculate the results of an action?" [1] Poe's theory of mental suggestion is used in the "Simoom" (1888?), as we have already noted, and also in "Creditors" where the latent tendencies in Adolph are called forth by its help. There is also a passing reference in "Pariah" to Bernheim's work on mental suggestion.

In his "Creditors," which in a way is a "thesis-play," Strindberg deals with the question of moral responsibility with reference to the Pagan idea of Fate or the Christian doctrine of Providence. According to the author, Fate or Providence, heredity and environment which tend to reduce individual responsibility leave, however, only a "narrow margin unprotected" within which area individual liability operates and where men are accountable though guiltless

[1] Plays, Second Series, p. 256.

—"guiltless in regard to one who is no more accountable to oneself and one's fellow beings."

"The Naturalist has," Strindberg observes in the Author's Preface to "Miss Julia," "wiped out the idea of guilt, but he cannot wipe out the results of an action—punishment, prison, or fear."

Tekla in her self-defence refers to Gustav's theory of "all our actions being determined in advance" adding that she was "driven by her nature and the circumstances into acting as she did." So also Adolphe (in "There are Crimes and Crimes")—"My dear Jeanne, no matter how much harm that woman may have done you, she did nothing with evil intention—in fact, she had no intention whatever—but just followed the promptings of her nature."

Gustav rejects, we see in "Creditors," the very idea of "making it up" for past wrongs and with intelligent generosity accounts for Tekla's past deeds as due to what he will not even call a "fault"—"it is a trait—just a trait, which is rendered disadvantageous by its results."

Similarly, the Stranger (in "The Burned Lot" sc. i.) remarks—"I have beheld life from every quarter, from every standpoint, from above and from below, and always it has seemed to me like a scene staged for my benefit. And in that way I have at last become reconciled to a part of the past, and I have come to excuse not only my own but also other people's *so-called faults*." (Italics our own.) "The innate or acquired sense of honour" inherited by the upper classes, for instance, is such a "*trait*" that has "become disadvantageous to the preservation of the race." Thus it proves the undoing of Miss Julia who frantically appeals to Jean for help "Do me this last favour—save my honour."

In Act III, sc. ii, of "There are Crimes and Crimes" the long conversation between Adolphe and Henriette deals with strange psychical phenomena—the imaginations of murder not actually committed considered as a form of mental

disease, "the power of the evil will to kill" in some mystic way, loss of will power in a man "depolarised" by accumulated hatred of those whom he had offended by his tyrannical sway.

When called upon to repent for her admitted faults—"malice, arrogance, cruelty"—Henriette sharply repudiates all responsibility by the answer that "they are like the dirt left behind by things handled during the day and washed off at night."

In Act IV, sc. i, occurs an allusion to thought-reading as a means of detection of criminal intentions. Maurice and Henriette in their conversation are full of suggestions about the "will to believe." The whole of Act IV, sc. ii, is quite an interesting psychological study.

Emile (Jeanne's brother) just refers to the problem of socially unequal marriages with their unhappy consequences. Marriage and married life practically form the theme of "The Dance of Death" (1901). The demoniac strife between man and wife, their vulgar mutual recriminations and struggle for mastery, described with ugly and grotesque details, present life in its elemental vigour and energy and naked savagery. Intellect clashes with intellect with great force and feelings collide with one another with brutal fury. On the top of all these conflicts there is the strange spectacle of an uncanny attachment for each other not worthy of the name of love. Captain Edgar and his wife Alice act like half-tamed wild animals put in a cage—ever ready to fly at each other's throat and tear each other to pieces, growling and snarling fiercely whenever an occasion arises but the next moment licking each other in quite a friendly fashion with evident signs of peaceableness, if not of affectionateness. They observe for the sake of their offspring a kind of marital armed neutrality. Curt observes in disgust to the Captain "What is happening in this house?.....The place is so filled with hatred that one can hardly breathe." They combine brutal frankness in mutual

accusation with calculated conspiracy to work the adversary's ruin. The husband keeps the wife as his slave and the wife openly shows a despicable eagerness for his death. They absolutely hate each other, quietly torment each other, have no confidence and little love, yet pretences are carefully kept up. He complains of her devilish temper and she confesses that "her husband is a stranger to her even after 25 years of marriage and she knows nothing at all about that man." Here we have got sex-duel with a vengeance. Curt inveighs against marriage having "seen one marriage at close quarters" (meaning his own) which was dreadful—but Alice's experience is worse. With stoic resignation he advises her not to apportion blame but to accept the fact as a trial to be borne. This is an autobiographical touch. In Alice's case even the children instead of being "the uniting link became the seed of dissension—what is held the blessing of the home turned into a curse." Well might she exclaim—"Well, I believe, that we belong to a cursed race!"

(*To be continued*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

THE THREE RINGS

[PARAPHRASED FROM LESSING'S *NATHAN DER WEISE*]

[Nathan, the wise Jew of Jerusalem, is invited by Sultan Saladin and is asked which of the three religions followed in the Sultan's realms—Judaism, Christianity and Islam—is the true faith. By way of answer Nathan narrates the famous story of the Three Rings.]

Nathan.

In bygone years in East there lived a man,
Who had a wondrous ring of priceless worth ;
He always wore it on his hand. The gem—
An opal—sparkled with a hundred hues.
It had the magic power to make the man,
Who wore it with a humble trustful heart,
Belov'd of God and trusted of mankind.
What wonder, then, that this wise sage of yore
Ne'er took it off ? What wonder, too, he wished
This ring, from son to son successively,
As priceless heirloom in his line preserved ?
And thus he set about it. When he died,
He left his most beloved son the ring,
And bade him that he also, in his turn,
Should give the ring to him he thought the best
Among his sons,—the worthiest of all
Without regard to age. The secret charm
The ring possessed would surely make him best
And worthiest of all his family,
And also head and chief. You understand,
Sultan ?

Saladin.

O yes, I do. On with thy tale.

Nathan.

Descended thus from father unto son,
One happy man possessed this magic ring,

Himself the best-lov'd of his father, but
Himself the father of three loving sons,—
Three sons, each one of whom he dearly loved,
As well, indeed, each one deserved to be.
So nicely balanced was the scale of love,
The father knew not whom to give the ring.
Now one, now next, and now the third he deem'd
Most worthy wearer of the magic ring
So secretly he promised each in turn,
As best of three, the ring. Thus matters stood.
It always pained the father, that he must,
Before he died, disown two worthy sons,
Who had believed his words, and whom he held
As dear as his own life. What did he do?
A crafty artist secretly he called,
And ordered him to fashion two new rings,—
Exact replicas of the old,—nor spare
Expense nor pains to make them as alike
The genuine, as far as art permit.
And when the artist brought him these three rings,
The old man even could not tell the ring,
Which served as model. With his mind at rest
He called each son (the others knowing nought),
And gave to each one ring; and, blessing all
Three equally, he died.—Sultan, you hear?

Sultan.

I do, I do; but haste thee now to end
This wondrous tale of rings.

Nathan.

I've almost done;
What must have followed, you can guess yourself.
Scarce was the father dead, when each son came
With his own ring;—for each one wished to be
The best-belov'd of all. Their utmost skill
To know the true from false availed them not—

All three were so alike.—E'en so it were
An effort vain to judge which faith is best.

Saladin.

Have faiths to thee no higher worth than rings?

Nathan.

Your pardon, Sire! Which of the rings was true
I venture not to judge. The father got
Them made on purpose so that no one could
Distinguish them,—that none might dominate.

Saladin.

But rings!—Nathan, play not with me!—I thought
Rings might be made by man, but God-given faiths
Differ quite sharply as regards the dress,
The food, the drink, and many things besides.

Nathan.

But in their fundamentals surely not,
For rests not each upon the ONE GREAT TRUTH,—
The ANCIENT WISDOM—taught by Prophets old
To their Disciples? These in turn did teach
A newer generation; thus doth Truth
Expand throughout the world. Should we this Truth
Not hold with humble faith? Is not that right?
And which the faith that should attract us most?
Which faith to doubt the least?—None but our own;
None but the faith our fathers long have held,
The faith of those who from our infant days
Shower'd upon us blessings, care and love,
Nor e'er deceived us. Why should I deny
My fathers more than thou? Thou follow'st thine;
Then I, too, should be free to follow mine.
Could'st thou give lie unto thine ancestors,
Disclaim them, that in this way thou may'st prove
My fathers right? Or should I seek to prove
That thine, or of these Nazarenes were right?

Saladin (*aside*).

By God and Holy Prophet! He is right.
I stand amazed.

Nathan.

Return we to the rings.
As I have said, the sons disputed long:
Each swore he had the ring—the one, true ring—
Received with blessings from the father's hands.
The father loved them all so equally,
He could not favour one above the rest.
Rather than that such father play'd him false,
Each thought his brothers false, guilty of schemes
And plots against himself: but each one wish'd
To sift the true from false; and so agreed
To put their case before a judge.

Saladin.

And how
Decided he? I long to hear the end.
Come, speak, I listen.

Nathan.

Thus did speak the judge:
"I hear the true ring has the power to make
"The wearer loved by God and all mankind.
"That must decide. The owners of the two
"False rings can never gain the love of men,
"Nor please their God. Which brother of you three
"Is by the others best-belov'd?—Why stand
"Ye silent? Speak! Are not the others dear
As his own self to him that owns the ring?
Jealous are ye and proud, and each one loves
And thinks himself the best;—all three deceived
Deceivers are. None of the rings is true.
The true ring has been lost; and, to conceal
This loss, your father got three new ones made."

Saladin.

Bravo ! Bravo !

Nathan.

The good judge further said :
"Thus I advise : leave we the matter here
"As now it stands. Each from the father got
"One ring, an heirloom ;—therefore, let each one
"Believe *his* to be true. The father was
"Unwilling that but one be thought the best,
"For he did love you all, and equal loved ;
"He would not see one raised above the rest.
"Therefore, let each rejoice in his own heart
"As having won the father's dearest love :
"Let each one try to be the best-belov'd,
"And prove the charm residing in his ring.
"Let this be proved through patience, deep resolve,
"And faith firm-fix'd, and acts of righteousness,
"And confidence in God's e'er present grace.
"And when your children's children fail to see,
"Years hence, the inward greatness of these rings,
"Let them come once again to this great hall.
"Then shall preside a wiser, greater Judge
"Upon this seat. Now, go !" Thus spake the judge.—

Saladin.

God ! God !

Nathan.

Sultan ! If thou believ'st thou art
That promised judge—

Saladin.

I ! Dust ! I ! Nobody !
Oh God !

Nathan.

Why thus, Sultan ?

Saladin.

Nathan ! Nathan !
The great wise Judge, who knows the true from false,
Is yet unborn ; His time is yet to be,
His judgment seat cannot be mine. Depart
In peace, and henceforth be my trusted friend.

POST-GRADUATE

A PLEA FOR AN ALL-INDIA COLLEGE OF CO-OPERATION AND FOR UNIVERSITY CHAIRS OF CO-OPERATION.

"The Co-operative Education Programme for the Congress year, 1915-1916" defines the objects of co-operative education as "the formation of co operative character and opinions by teaching the history, theory and principles of the movement, with Economics, and Industrial and Constitutional History in so far as they have a bearing on Co-operation and, secondarily, though not necessarily of less import, the training of men and women to take part in industrial and social reforms and civic life generally."

With a view to attain the above objects of co-operative education a Co-operative College has been established at Holyoake House, Manchester. The College is under the control of the Co-operative Union through its Central Education Committee (the Co-operative Union being a federation of co-operative societies in the United Kingdom, undertaking educational organising and advisory work on their behalf). The objects of the Manchester Co-operative College are thus set forth in the Prospectus—

"To complete the scheme of co-operative education by providing a centre for higher education in the specialised subjects required for the full equipment of the co-operator, and the further development of efficiency in the co-operative movement.

"To provide a centre for the cultivation of the co-operative spirit, the generation of enthusiasm for the application of co-operative principles, and the inspiring of students for service in the cause of co-operation; to assist in all possible ways in the diffusion of a knowledge of co-operative principles

and practice, and the cultivation of a healthy co-operative opinion; and to co-operate with, and help, all existing organisations having these objects.

"To undertake investigations and research that are calculated to aid the general development and progress of co-operation, and stimulate the application of co-operative principles in the solution of social problems."

The college is open to both men and women, but no student of less than 17 years of age is admitted except under special circumstances. The session or college year is from October to June, and the fee for a full course of instruction on the various subjects amounting to about 15 hours' teaching per week, is 12 guineas. Shorter periods and courses for special subjects are provided for those unable to take the full course.

We need not here detail the curriculum of the college. It is sufficient to say that it covers most, if not all, of the special subjects (*see appendix*) necessary to achieve the objects of co-operative education as defined above. It may, however, be noted that the scheme includes "Tuition by correspondence" and "Extension lectures" by which courses of study are taken to the localities of societies desiring them. Two scholarships of £20 each and two of £40 each are tenable at the college for the promotion of research and the encouragement of investigation of subjects of co-operative importance.

Now this work of the co-operative college so briefly summarised here may be thought to be only of importance to British co-operators. Such is, however, not the case, as students are received from the uttermost ends of the earth. As a writer in the "International Co-operative Bulletin" says—"During recent months young co-operative enthusiasts from India, Australia, Finland and Japan have assuaged their thirst for co-operative knowledge, and gained an insight into the romance of our movement, by studying at Holyoake House. Some have taken a regular course and others have been compelled to be content with a fleeting visit, reading as

they ran, gathering the flowers and fragrance of our growth, scenting the peaceful evolution promoted by the pioneers and now gradually encompassing the earth."

A similar—but more ambitious—scheme has been launched in Russia. In pursuance of a Resolution of the all-Russian Co-operative Congress a Co-operative University was opened on the 17th September, 1918, in Moscow at the premises of the Moscow Union of Co-operative Credit Societies. The University is intended to provide highly skilled instructors for co-operative work, properly trained directors for the boards of co-operative societies, editors of leading co-operative reviews, etc. The first section to be opened was the economic co-operative section, covering the teaching of economic subjects relating to co-operation, its theory, methods and organisation in general; the second was the commercial managers section; and the third included courses and seminaries for the study of co-operative production. Special courses of lectures on co-operative statistics, banking and book-keeping, co-operative housing, etc., have also been delivered. Every co-operative organisation has to contribute a percentage from its turnover for the maintenance and development of this important educational establishment. As the financial position of the University is secure, its promoters hope to be able to develop it into a real training ground on the basis of co-operation for highly skilled workers in the field of the economic and social reconstruction of Russia.

The French Government have recently taken the important step of founding a Chair of Co-operation at the famous College of France and of appointing Prof. Charles Gide—the *doyen* of French co-operators and the father of the co-operative movement in France—to that Chair. This new institution, mainly brought about by the efforts of the National Federation of Co-operative societies of France, is largely supported by co-operative funds voted with practical unanimity at the Paris Congress of 1919 and at a cost of 20,000 francs. French

co-operators have eagerly sought the opportunity of establish ing this "chair" because the College of France is an institu tion, not only of national standing but one in which th Professors have complete liberty to arrange the courses o instruction, and to follow the bent of their own scientifi inclinations in research. The realisation of their purpos provides an opportunity for establishing co-operation in th highest educational circles as a subject of scientific investiga tion, and of extending its influence into thought hithert untouched by co-operative propaganda.

In Germany, besides the Berlin University Chair of Co operation held by Dr. August Muller, classes for co-operativ education are held at selected centres. These classes cove various aspects of the movement, as suited to members an officials, the duration of the course being proportioned to th use which the learner proposes to make of his knowledge The extent to which co-operative education has spread i Germany is illustrated by the number of books on co-operativ matters—often discussing in detail comparatively small point of theory or practice—which have been written as theses, b men competing for degrees in the leading Universities. Suc theses were unheard of by the learned men of Englis Universities until within the last four or five years; bu they have been common in Germany for twenty years o more. The general standard of education at any rate amon those who direct the affairs of co-operative societies i Germany seems to be considerably higher than is the case i most other countries, and while much of the credit of thi is no doubt due to the efficiency of the general system o education, some at least must be ascribed to the work o the federations.

These examples from the West have their lessons for u in Bengal and India. Last year's statistics show that ther are in India 32,439 co-operative societies of all kinds wit a total membership of 1,235,891 and a total working capita

of 175 millions of rupees. It will at once be evident that the co-operative movement has taken firm root in the country and that the interest of a vast mass of the population of this country are involved in the success and stability of that movement. Now that success and that stability depend, mainly, if not solely, on a widely diffused co-operative education taken in both its narrower and broader aspects. Let us examine what has so far been done in the various provinces for co-operative education in the narrower sense (as apart from co-operative propaganda of which I shall treat later).

Some tentative efforts in the direction of the training of workers and office-bearers have been made in several provinces. In Bombay, the Central Co-operative Institute with the help of the Co-operative Department arranges short courses of training for secretaries and departmental officers. In other provinces the respective Departments arrange for a course of training for probationers with the help of their own officers. No University in India has yet thought fit to include Co-operation as a regular separate course of study, though some of them, specially the University of Calcutta, have included it as one of the subsidiary subjects in the Economics courses for the Degree Examinations. No chair of Co-operation has yet been thought of in connection with any of the old or new Indian Universities, though it is recognised by all that the co-operative movement is the most potent economic movement in India to-day. There are no strong Provincial Co-operative Unions or any All-India Co-operative body which may finance and control an All-India Co-operative College or University. The examples from the West which I have described above show that Western Co-operators have realised—what we have not yet realised—that co-operation is an important subject of study and research which should not be neglected by any seat of learning. The ever-widening progress of co-operation, the multifarious applications of the

principles of co-operation to the solution of diverse economic problems make it imperative that the subject should be studied by the best intellects of the country for the furtherance of its own economic interests. Moreover, the institution of a Co-operative College, or a Chair of Co-operation filled and manned by experts means enormous strength to the movement. A co-operative society, be it a primary, or a central bank, or trading society, or a store or a federation, must depend for its success on efficient management. This efficient management is only possible if the men at the helm have been properly trained in the theory and practice of co-operation. In these days when the cry for vocational education is heard on all sides, the need for such recognised centres of co-operative training and research is all the greater, for the field of employment to our young men offered by co-operative societies is widening year by year; and, as new applications of the co-operative principle are made, as co-operative stores, housing societies, sale societies, cattle-breeding societies, market-gardening societies, industrial societies, whole-sale societies, federations are started in increasing numbers, new talents will be necessary and must be forthcoming. Indeed the want of such centres of co-operative study and research is largely responsible for the one-sided progress of co-operation in India. From these centres will radiate new ideas; new visions will arise, and new fields will open up. I would plead, firstly, for an all-India Co-operative College or University, whatever you may call it, situated in a central place like Allahabad. This College should be financed by all co-operative institutions in India and by the Provincial and Imperial Governments. It should make arrangements for both instruction and research in co-operation. It should have the most complete and up-to-date library of co-operative and general and economic literature, Indian and foreign.

It should publish a monthly Journal of Co-operation (superseding all provincial journals) containing news from

all provinces, the results of the research of the Professors, a record of co-operative activities abroad, notices of all important co-operative publications, etc. It should have an Editorial Board with a paid Chief Editor and Manager. Like the International Co-operative Bulletin and the Review of Agricultural Economics, the all-India Journal should be published in as many languages as is desirable and possible for circulation in the several provinces.

The College should be a residential one and should have a co-operative store, a co-operative dairy, a co-operative laundry, etc., attached to it, so that the students themselves might practise co-operation in as many directions as possible. The instruction offered by the College should be in different grades suiting different classes of students. The College should, moreover, have a Correspondence Section which should arrange for correspondence courses of instruction for those who cannot afford to come to Allahabad.

But such an all-India College of Co-operation can only arise out of the deliberations of an all-India Congress of Co-operators who alone can lay its foundations on solid finance. For this and for other purposes it is very desirable to organise at an early date an all-India Co-operative Congress.

Before this ideal is realised, however, it is within the competence of the various local Governments—I mean, the Ministers for Co-operation and Education—to found Chairs of Co-operation in the various Universities of India. The founding of a Chair of Co-operation means so much for the sound, efficient, and many-sided development of co-operation in the provinces that it needs no special argument from me. Private munificence and state contributions should be able to create an endowment of say—3 or 4 lakhs of rupees—for founding such a Chair of Co-operation. Moreover, co-operative education must be spread among all classes of the people; from the primary school up to the University stage

co-operation must form a compulsory subject of study. Authorities of every secondary school and every college should encourage and actively participate in the formation of students' Co-operative stores managed by students and teachers for their common benefit. Students of Economics in colleges should be accompanied by professors to visit centres of co-operative activity. In these various ways and through these diverse channels must we spread co-operative education if we are to reap the full benefit of this great new movement and equip ourselves for taking our proper part in the growing international co-operative commonwealth. What democracy is in the field of politics, co-operation is in that of economics. If responsible Government is to be a success it must be based on sound economic foundations: the brick and mortar of co-operation will build those foundations strong and stable. The successful development of co-operation can alone ensure the success of responsible democratic Government. Political and economic progress must go hand in hand; and in India, the land of small holdings, small capital and small home industries—economic progress lies in eliminating the middle-men by co-operatively linking up the producer in the fields with the consumer and the exporter. The application of the co-operative principle alone can bring economic salvation to the millions of patient, toiling agriculturists of India.

PANCHANANDAS MUKHERJI

APPENDIX

SUBJECTS IN WHICH INSTRUCTION IS OFFERED BY THE CO-OPERATIVE COLLEGE, MANCHESTER.

Lectures are given, as required, on the following subjects :—

CO-OPERATION.

Section I.

History and Principles of Co-operation.

Economics of Co-operation.

Co-operative Problems.
Co-operation and Social Problems.
Co-operative Control of Raw Materials.
Co-operative Finance.
Co-operation in Agriculture.
Co-operative Production.
International Co-operation.
Co-operation in Ireland.
Co-operation in Scotland.
Co-operation in Denmark.
Co-operative Statistics and Statistical Methods.

HISTORY.

Section II.

General History.
Constitutional History.
Industrial History, 1066-1910.
The Industrial Revolution.
Economic and Industrial History of the Nineteenth Century.
Reform Movement of the Nineteenth Century.

ECONOMICS.

Section III.

Economics of Industry.
Money, Prices, and Banking.
International Trade and Foreign Exchanges.
History and Principles of Taxation.
Public Finance.
Economic Theories.
Social Economics.
Wages.
Economic and Social Problems.
Trade Unionism.
The Organisation of Industry and Commerce.
The Welfare of the Group.
Women in Industry.

CITIZENSHIP, SOCIOLOGY, AND ETHICS.

Sections IV & V.

Citizenship.
Local Government.

Central Government.
Political Science.
Sociology.
Ethics.

EDUCATION.

Section VI.
History, Theory, and Organisation of Education.
The Art of Teaching.
Co-operative Education: Its History and Organisation.

PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC SPEAKING.

Section VII.
The Organisation of Propaganda.
Elocution and Public Speaking.

EMERGENCY AND SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

Section VIII.
The Co-operative Movement and Taxation.

TECHNICAL SUBJECTS.

Section IX.
Co-operative Management.
Co-operative Book-keeping and Accountancy.
Co-operative Secretaryship.
Co-operative Auditing.
Co-operative Administration (covering the work of Co-operative Committees).
Commodities of Commerce.
Economics of Business Organisation.
Modern Business Methods and Office Organisation.
Statistics and Statistical Methods.
Commercial Law.
Co-operative Law.
Advertising.

VENGEANCE IS MINE

[*Translator's Foreword*:

Mr. K. M. Munshi has a rising reputation in Bombay, both as a lawyer and as a man of letters. This is an English version of his first long story, which is still, in the opinion of the translator, in spite of a certain amount of lack of polish both in the development of the plot as well as in the language (faults inseparable from every first effort), the best of his productions. This story has been chosen on account of its obvious importance for our present-day situation in India and the translator feels a certain amount of pride in presenting what he regards as one of the finest of recent productions in his mother-tongue to a larger public. The difficulties of translation and the short-comings of the translator in both the languages should account for all defects. The 'merit,' however, all goes to his friend, the original author.]

PART I

CHAPTER I

Friends in Need

Whatever philosophers might say, a home bereft of the master is no home. For two weeks Gunavanti's home had been in that sad condition; to her it had become sad and dreary like the cremation-ground. Her beloved lord and husband had left all worldly cares behind and had started out on his journey to heaven, and in departing had taken all light and joy from the life of the good Gunavanti. The Hindu wife's life is closely intertwined with that of her husband and, like the tender creeper which entwines the sturdy tree, when bereft of his supporting arm she withers away and her whole life becomes a desolate ruin. She cannot live alone by herself, for her life is wholly derived from her husband. He may be poor, a beggar even, but he is her God upon earth; and here was a learned, noble, high-souled husband gone. Gunavanti's happiness was at an end. Jagatkishor—the laughing, leaping,

darling Kishor of ten summers—the sole remembrance of his father—was the one oasis in this dreary waste of her life.

Darkness was falling outside, and Gunavanti's heart, too, was wrapped up in gloom. The ladies who had come to condole with her had departed. Jagatkishor had put his head on her lap and had sunk into the sweet sleep of innocence. Gunavanti's youthful beauty had been somewhat dimmed by grief but a graver matronly dignity had spread over her features; Rati's charms had disappeared but Kunti's quiet dignity had come in their place. Her black dress melted insensibly into the gathering gloom of the dimly lighted room. Only her face—with its quiet, peaceful, resigned expression was visible like the full moon shedding her cold quiet lustre upon a thick dark forest.

Footsteps were heard below. Gunavanti stretched forth her hand and turned up the light. It seemed Raghubhai had come. Raghubhai had been the closest friend of Gunavanti's husband. Why should he not be? Nilkanthrai had found him a place and had helped him forward in his career. Through his favour alone had he attained his present rank of the Kotwal of that small State. For a considerable while Raiji's house had been his home. Raiji was quite unused to the crooked ways of the world and so Raghubhai had taken upon himself all the trouble of running his household affairs and even keeping account of his income and expenditure. Even after Raiji's death he was a daily visitor and he regarded Gunavanti and her son as members of his own family. If such had not been the case Gunavanti could never have found any way out of her troubles.

Raghubhai came in. He had the power of favourably impressing a stranger at first sight. His tall person looked really splendid in a strong, silk-bordered Nagpur *dhoti*, an old-fashioned court-coat with a silk shawl thrown over the shoulders and a Kathiawadi turban which he had adopted to please the Kathiwad Prince whom he served. His face was

by no means very remarkable, but often there was a good deal of dignity in it and sometimes it struck an observer so much that he got a wholesome impression of the man. His eyes were deep set, and from them twinkled worldly wisdom and intrigue. His features plainly announced the man's greed for power as well as his firmness and his cleverness. His deliberate and cold manner of talking indicated experience and diplomacy. Rumour had it that even his superiors were a little afraid of approaching him. For the present he was the Kotwal and so he practically dictated the local politics. Poor Gunavanti had found no reason to be suspicious and regarded him as something nearer than her own brother.

"Well, sister-in-law; and how are you?" said the cold voice of Raghubhai. It was sweet enough though, for he had had long practice in speaking sweetly in a prince's court.

"Fairly well, brother. You are welcome."

Raghubhai took his seat on the swing[1] some distance away. He began to ask about her affairs; "How is Jagatkishor? Did he cry to-day?"

"No, not so much to-day. He will get used to it in course of time, brother. Is there any other course?" Gunavanti's voice got choked with tears while saying this.

"Sister-in-law, do have more courage. Even these days shall pass away and you shall be happy once again."

"I have done with happiness and misery in this life. I have but one object now. That is to see Jagat grown up."

"That you shall, of course, you shall. Do not be afraid. But now decide what is to be done next."

"What should I decide? I am ready to do whatever you and Ramkisandasji think proper."

Upon hearing this other name Raghubhai raised his eyebrows just a shade. "You see, sister-in-law, the matter stands thus," he began, and honied words, insinuating like the

[1] A big plank swing, big enough to serve as a bed and hung from the ceiling, is a common and necessary piece of household furniture in Gujarat.

serpent, poured glibly from his tongue, "Your wishes are *my* wishes. I am your humble servant, you must understand. For the family of Raiji Saheb I am ever ready to lay down all I have, even life itself. You are to me a mother and Jagat is my little brother. You see, I used to keep all accounts for Raiji Saheb and so I know exactly how you stand at present."

Just then from the veranda came the crash of a stick with its iron ring. Raghubhai's face fell a little on hearing this, but immediately it was wreathed again with his habitual ingratiating smiles.

"Hallo, here is Ramkisandasji himself. Now let us decide what is to be done."

The huge bulk of Ramkisandasji advanced into the lighted room. His youth he had spent among wrestlers and in various gymnasiums, and now, even at the age of seventy, his powerful limbs showed not the least trace of decay. Old age could not get even the thinnest end of its wedge into him. Only his long beard had grown snow-white. This, and the mark on his forehead, which announced him to be a devotee of Rama, and his big lustrous eyes, roused a feeling of veneration in all who saw him. He had his abode in the temple of Ramachandraji on the outskirts of the town, and in the hearts of all the townspeople besides. He was also a considerable power in that place. He was in close touch with all the local affairs, and in settling every dispute he had the chief hand. But he used his own transparent simplicity and his unshakable faith in God's goodness as the only solvents in all cases of trouble, and very often he came out successful. Cruel rapacious officials were afraid of him and sometimes, it was whispered, even the Prince himself. His learning did not extend much beyond
ıa of Tulsidas, but his simple honesty imposed a
ng-doers of this small principality
ıardians could do in more civilised
oriental court such a restraining
ıome.

"Tulsi, there are varied natures found among our mortal folk," quoted Ramkisandasji as he entered; "Well, child, how are you?"[1]

"I am well, Maharaj. Come in," replied Gunavanti.

Raghubhai smiled and bowed; then he said, just with a trace of shy humour, "Come in, Bawaji.[2] Well, and how are you, quite well?

"Yes," and, as if he had just caught sight of Raghubhai, he added, "Who is this? Junior Diwan! Well, how goes *your* game? What about your Diwanship?"

Raghubhai was the Kotwal, but most people in the State knew the goal he was aiming at. The Bawaji always addressed him as the "Junior Diwan." Some of Ramkisandasji's ways were very peculiar. Wherever he went, he had forsworn to take a seat or to talk in a low voice. He would keep walking to and fro, and while speaking to any one he would "hold him with his glittering eye" and shout out what he had to say in his loudest voice. People used to say that once he had told even His Highness to his face, "You are not merely a slave, but the slave of a slave." We cannot vouch for the truth of this, but this much is certain that the Bawaji was not one to mince his words with anybody on earth when occasion arose. Raghubhai writhed a little—but he put sugar into his voice, smiled a little and said:

"What did you say, Bawaji? Why jest with a humble individual? Of course with your blessings all shall come in time. Just at present we have been considering what sister-in-law should do now."

"What should she do? Why,—eat, drink and remember Rama."

"But you see, Bawaji, she has not keeping a separate house."

[1] Ramkisandasji and his associate *san*

[2] Lit. "father." An epithet applied t

"Why not? Did not Raiji leave anything? I understood that you kept all accounts."

"Yes, but his expenses were high, so that after paying all debts barely five thousand rupees will be left."

"But he was earning three to four hundred monthly all these ten years and more. What accursed wretch has pocketed all that money?" roared Bawaji. No one could for a moment have misunderstood the look he darted at Raghubhai; his stout stick seemed as it were anxious to begin. The deep eyes of Raghubhai flashed out anger and hate for one moment, but immediately the fire was covered up with the ashes of cold calculating wisdom. After a moment he quietly answered the ascetic—

"Look here, Bawaji, be calm and listen to reason. It does no good to be hasty. I have eaten the salt of Raiji Saheb—"

"Yes, yes, I know all that. But what do you think we should do now?"

"What should we do? Whatever you and sister-in-law decide, that will I faithfully carry out. You see, she cannot go to Surat to her late husband's brother. The two brothers had lived apart for years. And the temper of his wife would not allow her widowed sister-in-law to live with them in peace. Besides, I do not think it advisable to get away from here just now. His Highness may be approached and with a little effort some State help may be secured for Jagat's education. It would, therefore, be well to stay on here at present and my home is always open to you."

"No brother; the inconvenience to you—"

"What inconvenience would it be to me?" said Raghubhai.

"Listen, Junior Diwan, do you wish to take Gunavanti to your place?" asked the Bawaji, shaking his head thoughtfully.

"Yes, that will mean saving of money; she will stay here I too shall have the chance to serve the family and thus ay in a small degree what I have owed to Raiji Saheb."

"But will this benefit Jagat?" asked Gunavanti; she was unable to decide between the conflicting alternatives.

"Yes, something might be done for him, certainly. But—"

"It will indeed be very beneficial for him. I will myself take him to His Highness."

To the fond mother this seemed an inestimable benefit. If her son's future happiness could be secured why should she object to a little inconvenience to herself? And here was Raghubhai, almost Raiji's own brother. What objection could she have in staying with him?

"But, Bawaji, have *you* any objection?"

"No, child, I have none," said Bawaji and looked straight at Raghubhai; "well, if it is for the boy's good, go and stay with him."

Raghubhai jumped at this at once. "Sister-in-law, I was only waiting for your consent. I have already made all arrangements. I will send my wife to you to-morrow."

"Very well, brother, I will come to-morrow," consented Gunavanti. Her heart was silently bleeding at the thought of leaving her home.

"Very well, I must be going now," Raghubhai took his leave and walked out.

"I will also go, Gunavanti," said Bawaji and went out with him.

Gunavanti's eyes filled with tears; she bent down and gazed upon the face of her sleeping son. Poor lonely heart! For the sake of her child's happiness Gunavanti had to accept the terrible burden of Raghubhai's hospitality. The next morning dawned on Gunavanti still weeping bitterly at the thought of her bereavement and her helplessness.

At the door of the house the Bawaji separated from Raghubhai. Before separating, however, Bawaji's mighty arms caught Raghubhai by the shoulders and held him firm; he looked steadily for a few moments into his eyes.

"Look here, you, Junior Diwan! It is true that Gunavanti and Jagat are coming to stay with you, but remember, they both are under the protection of Ramji." As he said this, Bawaji whirled his stout stick more eloquently than words could express.

"Oh, my dear Sir, what do you mean!" With great difficulty Raghubhai could keep his features unmoved. He had however understood fully the eloquent gesture and it had set his heart trembling just a little.

CHAPTER II

Child Friends

Poor Gunavanti had been forced at last to go and stay with Raghubhai. He showed untiring devotion and did not allow her to feel in the least her dependent position. His wife, Kamala, was a perfectly good-natured and simple creature, who seemed ignorant of the existence of the *Kaliyuga* in the outside world. She was incessantly busy with the affairs of her little home and her mind was always occupied with her little year-old daughter Rama. Gunavanti had no fear of disturbance from either of these. Her nature was always obliging and on account of her invariable sweetness of temper she became immediately a favourite with everybody. Ramkisandasji also paid regular visits to Raghubhai's house once or twice a week, and often took Jagat with him to his own temple. Ramkisandasji was the chosen high-priest of all the children of the town, they were all mad after him; but he had made Jagat his special favourite and treated him almost as his own son. In a short time the boy began to forget Raiji.

Jagat began to show his capabilities even at the tender age of twelve. After Raiji's death he behaved as if he alone had to bear all burden. Gunavanti was quite easy in her mind with regard to the boy. He had given up his childish

humours and his tears. But still he found it hard sometimes to control his temper, and sometimes he was disrespectful towards Raghubhai because he felt no special love for him. Except on these rather rare occasions he was always happy and invariably studious, and he often was found playing with little Rama.

People regard the ways of children as something insignificant—something almost lifeless; they think that these are not worth the attention of a grown-up man. But this is a great mistake, for "as the twig is bent the tree's inclined"; the events that have happened during these tender years and the friendships that are formed at that age leave deep and lasting impressions upon a child's character. Such are not left either by the events or the friendships of later years. The experiences to be described in this and the following chapters left such an indelible mark on the life of Jagat that we cannot afford to neglect them.

At this period Jagat's heart was loving and trusting. His mother's pure and innocent life had impressed his character forcibly. Gunavanti's hold upon the boy was the hold of perfect love, and hence it did not take her long to mould his character exactly as she wished. She had herself been educated in the old style. She had none of the outward show of the new-fangled, modern, educated ladies, nor had she their half-cultured manners. Gunavanti had committed the great crime of being quite unlike the "modern" woman, in as much as she was not ignorant of the ancient mythology and legendary lore of her country, which an "educated" woman to-day would affect to despise. So she was able to introduce fresh interests and fresh ideals into Jagat's young life through the immortal and ever-inspiring tales of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. She encouraged Jagat to imitate the deeds of our great heroes of the past. He had already, like Parashurama, rid the world of his imagination several times of the Kshatriyas and had often dragged down numerous Gangas

with a power and effort worthy of Bhagirath himself. Who has not had these sweet, madly-wise visions? He who has not had them is not human.

Raghubhai's garden lay shimmering in the early rays of an autumn morning. Birds were singing in the trees. Nature was smiling all round. Jagat came out, joy in his heart and a bow and arrows in his hands. Raghubhai had bought these for him, long the goal of all his boyish ambitions. Last night he had taken them to bed with himself.

In his play he had often achieved universal sovereignty by the mere twang of this bow and had carried off heavenly maidens innumerable. Every boy's life twines itself round such a toy—a toy representing a weapon, which symbolises the innate manly power. As he grows older he drops the toy and grasps the real thing. Man or boy, each seeks to forge the lever with which he would move the world. It takes on various shapes and is often changed; some succeed ultimately, in acquiring it, others in despair give up the attempt. The wooden horse is cast aside for the bat, the bat gives place to the pen, the pen in its turn is flung aside for eloquence of the tongue: but the final goal of all is one—to lead the ideals surging within to outward expression and thence to victory, and to invite the world to share the joys of that triumph.

Jagat was shooting his arrows here and there like a Greek Cupid. One arrow flew higher than intended. The boy had a fleeting thought of aiming at the fish [1]; but the arrow went over into the garden next door. There was a small wall between the two gardens. He stood still considering what he should do.

Some one was climbing the wall from the other side, slowly there came up over the wall a mass of soft dark curls, and then—a face. Jagat was struck with wonder and stood gazing at it. Gunavanti in all her tales had described the heroine as "the incarnation of all beauty." To Jagat the only "incarnation

[1] This was the feat which Arjuna performed successfully when he won Draupadi.

of all beauty" was his mother. Often when wandering about in the kingdom of his imagination, mounted on his own fancies, he had pictured to himself many a beautiful maiden, but the standard and type for all of them was Gunavanti. But this face! A girl of about ten, the indescribable joy of growing childhood brimming over from each limb, the spirit of innocence sparkling from her bright eyes, her pretty rose-bud face half-hidden under a mass of vagrant curls—all these quite vanquished Jagat and Jagat's impressionable heart and made him stand just where he was, staring in speechless wonder. The eyes of the girl were dancing with merriment and—in her hand was Jagat's lost arrow.

The girl climbed over to the top of the wall and asked, "Is this your arrow?"

"Yes," Jagat could not think for the moment what else to say; he stood still for a while.

"Don't you want it?"

Jagat recovered his gentlemanly manners, his instinctive respect for womanhood recalled him; "And who may you be, please?"

"I," said the girl in the voice of a *Kokila*, "why, I am Tanman." An older person would have laughed at this answer; but Jagat gravely nodded his head as if all his doubts were set at rest.

"May I come over?"

"Wait a bit. I will bring the steps and help you down."

Jagat fetched the wooden steps and getting up caught Tanman by the hands and brought her over to his side of the wall. Then they both jumped down together from the top of the steps and tumbled over each other, disentangled themselves, stood up, wiped their hands and looking at each other burst out into hearty peals of laughter. How divinely simple are children's friendships, how inscrutable their joys! How tender the meeting of hearts unfettered by the artificial manners of the world! What mutual faith and confidence! Such

riendships, such ties, are the only real ones in this world. But we, wise ones of the world, speak of the "marriage tie," reated by force of circumstances, sanctioned by unholy custom, ied easily in the registrar's office and untied even more asily in the divorce court.

Jagat had so far had no companion in his life. To him, herefore, the companionship of this girl was like water to a hirsty man. The bow and arrows lay forgotten on the ground. Hand in hand they went to a small brick platform ound a tree and sat down together.

"How long since have you come to stay here?"

"My father has just been transferred here. We came n only yesterday. Do you go to school?"

Jagat was very proud of his learning; so he at once exclaimed, "Why, of course, I go to school every day. I am earning English."

The little birds sang on merrily some time longer. Presently Gunavanti came out into the garden. Her attention was immediately drawn by the attractive beauty of Tanman, so she asked, "Jagat, who is this?"

"Mother, she is the girl from next door."

"Whose?"

"Oh! mummy dear, you told me yesterday the story of Shivaji, did you not?"

"Yes, dear."

"That the Goddess had brought his weapon to him?"

"Yes, but what of that?"

"Why, this is *my* Devi. She brought me my arrow."

The mother smiled at her boy's wit and said, "Indeed! But who has come in next door?"

Tanman could no longer keep quiet. She came forward—a very bundle of elderly wisdom—"You know, auntie" (how easy are relationships established in Hindu society!) "Mr. Hiralal, the head-clerk, has come in next door. I am his daughter. My name is Tanman. And you are Jagat's mummy?"

"Yes, dear. But I must go in now. I am glad you have come. Jagat will like your company. Do come again. What is your mother doing?"

"My mother is dead these two years. We are alone at present, father and I. I have a step-mother but she has gone home to her people."

"Well, I must go in now. Do come in whenever you like," said Gunavanti and went in. Now that he had the approval of his dear mother Jagat felt doubly secure.

"Come on, Tanman, what shall we do now?"

"Whatever you like."

"I do not at all care to play. Come on, let us talk."

"Yes, let's," said the girl and laughed. She laughed often and hers was a very sweet rippling laugh, which sounded like the trill of a song-bird.

The sun rises daily upon the world. Sunrises and sunsets, too, come into every man's life. So far in Jagat's young life there had blown only the cool fragrant morning breezes of his mother's quiet love. To-day, however, there burst upon him the light of a new sun, radiant with dazzling splendour. Many buds of imagination opened at its warm touch. The whole day at school Jagat thought only of Tanman. In the usual noises of the school-room his ear that day seemed to catch the sweet sound of rippling girlish laughter. That evening, after he was back home, he was standing on the garden steps eating something; suddenly he was pushed from behind. Jagat in one direction and his food in another, both rolled in the dust. Tanman ran up with hands outstretched and said gravely—"Oh, ho, what is the matter with my brother Jagat?"

Jagat lost his temper. Some people do not like such jokes. He glared fiercely at her and demanded, "Why did you push me?"

In reply Tanman laughed. Jagat got more angry and snarled at her. Tanman at once turned away, and going up

to the brick platform near the tree sat down there as if nothing had happened. Jagat cooled down. After a while he swallowed the insult, went up to the platform and stood beside her. Tanman stared straight up through the leaves of the tree utterly oblivious of his presence.

Then Jagat shouted—"Tanman!"

But no reply was vouchsafed by Tanman; so Jagat again cried, "Tanman!" and caught hold of her hand.

"Get away, I don't want any of your 'Tanman,'" muttered Tanman, mischievously pouting her lips and shaking her curls. Nature had not forgotten the grace and caprice of womanhood while creating that form.

"Now do say something, Tanman. Won't you speak to me?" said Jagat piteously.

"No," and settling herself comfortably once more, she began again to stare upwards through the leaves.

"Why?"

"Because I choose," came the second imperious reply.

Jagat was experiencing the charming capriciousness of woman for the first time in his life. His tender heart was wounded, so he walked away and stood at a distance. After the morning's happiness this pain was well nigh unbearable. He forgot the pain of his fall and was angry with her refusing to talk with him. Near by was a small empty wooden box. He went up to it in order to sit down upon it—but the box suddenly disappeared from beneath him and Jagat once again measured his length on the gravel walk. Behind him was Tanman standing with a face full of grave solicitude and eyes brimming over with mischief.

She bent over him at once: "Oh, what is the matter with my Jagat again? What has happened to my darling? Are you hurt, my child?"—the voice of Tanman was grave like that of an old dame of a hundred years.

Jagat found there was greater pain if Tanman got angry, so he swallowed his rising anger. He and Tanman became

friends again, everything else was forgotten in the regained happiness. "Look here, Tanman, why did you do this? See my leg is all bruised and bleeding."

"Why not? You wanted me to be your Goddess. Well here is your Devi, as I think she should be. How do you like her?"

"Splendid, spendid, Devi mine!" cried Jagat, as catching hold of Tanman's shoulders he got up.

(*To be continued*)

K. M. MUNSHI

The Late Prof. J. N. Das Gupta

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ON SOME MATTER CONCERNING THE ANDHAU INSCRIPTIONS

About the end of the first century A.D., there arose a Kṣatrapa dynasty, founded by Caṣṭana, which ruled over Gujarāt, Kāṭhiāwār and Māḷwā. The name of Caṣṭana's father was taken by Professor Rapson to be Ghsamotika. The most important component of this name is the letter *gh* and *sa* which was read differently by different scholars. In 1899, (*JRAS.*, p. 371) Professor Rapson, on the strength of a certain Kṣatrapa coins, asserted like some of his predecessors, that this compound consonant consisted of the two letters *gh* and *sa*. It must be borne in mind that this reading was based entirely upon the legends of coins which, scholars know, are not always a safe guide for the correct reading of names. In 1906, Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, then Assistant Superintendent, Archæological Survey of the Western Circle, visited Bhuj in Cutch, and happened to see certain Kṣatrapa inscription stones of Andhau lying utterly neglected in the stores of the Engineering Department (*PR.-WC.*, 1906, p. 35). He had then no time to decipher the inscriptions from the originals. The letters, in his opinion, were so weather-worn that they did not yield even passable estampages; and although he prepared estampages in Bhuj, took them to Poona and prepared transcripts, he was, by no means, sure that those transcripts were reliable, as he was not able to read from the originals themselves (*PR.-WC.*, 1915, p. 8). This happened in 1906. Professor Bhandarkar contemplated visiting Bhuj again, but could not do so for a good many years. He, therefore, sent his estampages of the Andhau inscriptions to Professor Lüders in 1912-13,—the estampages, which were prepared by him, in 1906. With the help of those estampages,

the German Professor wrote an article entitled *Die Śakas und die Nordarische Sprache* in the Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy.

In this paper, Professor Lüders contends that the compound letter in the name of Caṣṭana's father is *y* and *sa* and not *gh* and *sa* and that "2000 years ago our ancestors transliterated the letter 'Z' by य्स." About the beginning of 1915, Professor Bhandarkar visited Bhuj a second time. This time he was able to inspect the Andhau stones properly and decipher the inscriptions from the originals quite to his satisfaction. The result of it was that he gave an account of the contents of these records in his Progress Report for the year ending 31st March, 1915. In this account he also, like Professor Lüders, says that the conjunct consonant in the name of Caṣṭana's father was *ysa* and not *ghsa*, and that it was an attempt to represent some foreign sound which the Greek Z was intended to express. In the June number of the *Modern Review*, has appeared an editorial note publishing photographic facsimiles of Professor Lüders' and Professor Bhandarkar's remarks on the subject. And the note cunningly says, "there the two discoveries made and published previously in 1913 by Professor Lüders are described by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar under the caption original research without any credit being given to the Berlin Professor," and adds: "We are unable to unravel the mystery: whose original research is described in the page reproduced, Professor Lüders' or Professor Bhandarkar's ?" The *Modern Review* does not pretend to be an antiquarian Journal, and nobody, I think, considers it to be of any importance from that point of view. The editorial note in the June number to which I have just referred, does not thus deserve to be considered seriously. Unfortunately, however, the note is believed to have been inspired by an antiquarian scholar. It is therefore necessary to give it a reply in order that real justice might be administered. A few months ago, it was rumoured in Calcutta that a particular

scholar was rather over-anxious to see that credit was given to Professor Lüders for his discoveries by publishing the matter in the *Modern Review*. A note for doing justice to Professor Lüders, which was long expected, has at last appeared in the June number of that monthly. There was, however, one link missing, because the same discoveries may occur to two different scholars at two different times and it would have been possible to contend that the present discoveries occurred to Professors Lüders and Bhandarkar differently without one knowing of the other's discoveries. And an attempt is therefore made to show that this was not so in the present case. The apparently well-informed Editor remarks: "We understand that the Berlin Professor wrote a letter from Charlottenburg, dated the 21st February, 1913, to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar to make those discoveries known to him." I asked Professor Bhandarkar whether he was aware of any such letter. And he informed me that, although he could not vouch for the correctness of this date, he distinctly remembered that some such letter had been received from Professor Lüders and placed by him on the office files of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle. How the Editor of the *Modern Review* comes to know about the contents of a letter that was in the office of the Western Circle is a mystery which it is for the Government of Bombay to unravel.

Soon after Professor Bhandarkar came to Calcutta to fill the Chair of the Carmichael Professor, I drew his attention to a footnote added by Dr. F. W. Thomas to Mr. R. D. Banerji's paper on Nahapāna and the Śaka Era published in *JRAS.*, 1917, p. 275. In the footnote, Dr. Thomas alludes to the reading *Ysamotika* and refers to the paper of Professor Lüders in the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*, to which I have adverted above. And I then seized the opportunity of asking Professor Bhandarkar whose discovery it really was in regard to the initial compound letter in Caṣṭana's father's name and its equivalent to the Greek Z to represent some Scythian sound, that is to

say, whether the credit for it was due to Professor Lüders for announcing it in the *Sitzungsberichte* in 1913 or to Professor Bhandarkar himself for giving it out in the *Progress Report of the Western Circle* in 1915, exactly two years after Professor Lüders' paper appeared. And to my extreme surprise Professor Bhandarkar at once replied that the discovery was neither his nor Professor Lüders', and that it was announced more than twenty years ago by no less an illustrious scholar than Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. He took out from his Library his copy of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, which contains *The Early History of Gujarat* from the materials prepared by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and which was published in 1896. On page 31 of this book, there is a foot-note which he then read out to me and which runs thus: "This letter य्स in both is curiously formed and never used in Sanskrit. But it is clear and can be read without any doubt as य्स. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji thought that it was probably meant to stand as a new coined letter to represent the Greek Z which has nothing corresponding to it in Sanskrit. The same curiously formed letter appears in the third syllable in the coin of the fourth Kshatrapa King Damajadasri." Now what does this note tell us? It tells us distinctly that the initial conjunct letter in Caṣṭana's father's name is *Ysa* and that it was coined to represent the Greek Z. These are the views of the late Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji published in 1896, long long before the paper of Professor Lüders or the Report of Professor Bhandarkar appeared. Unfortunately since Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji expressed this view other Indologists have rejected it considering the conjunct letter to be *ghsa* and not *ysa*. I have already told you that Professor Bhandarkar had taken estampages of the Andhau inscriptions in 1906, and he informed me that when he read the estampages themselves he was forced to read *Ysāmotika* as the name of Caṣṭana's father. But as he thought that the weather-worn condition

of the inscriptions did not allow him to place full faith in the estampages and as he was not able to inspect the stones themselves properly he felt he was not justified to give out this new reading, and therefore stuck to the current reading *Ghsamotika* when he transcribed the initial portion of the Andhau inscriptions in his Epigraphic Note on *Sātakarṇi of the Girnar Inscription*, published in *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXII, p. 68. It was not till 1915 when he paid a second visit to Bhuj and was able to examine carefully the stone inscriptions in the original that he was convinced that the reading *Ysāmotika* which he had read on the strength of his estampages taken in 1906 was correctly read. When Professor Bhandarkar assured me that the discovery was really Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's he also told me in justice to Professor Lüders that the latter also did not in his paper claim any credit for being the first to read the compound letter *ysa* and showing it as equivalent to the Greek Z. To suggest therefore that Professor Bhandarkar appropriated or rather misappropriated the discovery of Professor Lüders without giving any credit to the Berlin Professor is something which cannot but excite our laughter. Professor Lüders may be the first to announce on the strength of *mere* estampages that the correct spelling of the name is *Ysāmotika* and Professor Bhandarkar may be really the second to announce the correctness of the reading, but as his reading has been based on a careful examination of the *original stones* themselves no scholar will, I think, dispute that Professor Bhandarkar is really the first to have established the reading *Ysāmotika* beyond all doubt.

Now just one word regarding the tone of the editorial article which has appeared in the *Modern Review*. It produces the impression on the mind of the reader that Professor Bhandarkar has pilfered the discovery of Professor Lüders and is thus a plagiarist. Even if the discovery had really been Professor Lüders' the proper and natural interpretation would have been that Professor Bhandarkar forgot to

mention his name. In *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 458 and ff., the late Dr. J. F. Fleet wrote a note in which he says that the name Gujarat was derived not from *Gurjara-rāṣṭra* but from *Gurjaratrā*. This view together with the arguments supporting it is exactly that propounded by Professor Bhandarkar himself in 1902, that is, four years before Dr. Fleet wrote. Professor Bhandarkar's paper on the subject was published in *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXI, p. 413 and ff and was noticed in detail by the late Dr. Hoernle in *JRAS.*, 1904. Nobody will therefore ever seriously think that Professor Bhandarkar's paper had not been read by Dr. Fleet in 1906. And yet in his note on the name Gujarat Dr. Fleet mentions the view and arguments of Professor Bhandarkar without however mentioning the latter's name. No scholar, not even Professor Bhandarkar, has ever charged Dr. Fleet with plagiarism in this respect. The natural way of looking at it would be to say that Dr. Fleet forgot to mention the name of Professor Bhandarkar.

But why go to an English scholar? An instance nearer at home will perhaps illustrate my point better. Scholars are aware that a Prākrit poem called *Gauḍa-vaho* speaks of a Gauḍādhipa, or a king of Gauḍa, as being defeated by Yaśovarman of Kanauj. Who was this king of Gauḍa? In 1912 Mr. Ramāprasād Chanda expressed the view in his *Gauḍarāja-mālā* (p. 15) that this king was probably Jīvitagupta II, the last king of the Gupta dynasty of Magadha. In his *Pālas of Bengal* (p. 43) Mr. R. D. Banerji proposes exactly the same identification, but this Memoir was written in 1914, that is, two years after Mr. Chanda's book appeared. Mr. Banerji, however, has not mentioned Mr. Chanda's name in connection with this identification, and in this Memoir, at any rate. But can he be charged with plagiarism on this ground? I leave it to the Editor of the *Modern Review* to decide.

N. G. MAJUMDAR

P.S.—This article was read out by me before the members of the Bengal Asiatic Society on the 6th of July last. The arguments used by me have become now known all over Calcutta, and it is rumoured that a reply to some of the insignificant points dealt with in this article is in preparation and will appear in the September number of the *Modern Review*. But I do not think it desirable to go down to the level of replying to any further attacks in this Monthly. If the writer of the article in the *Modern Review* is possessed of any sound scholarship and honest courage he is requested to publish his replies in his name. It will then only be our worthwhile to take them into consideration.

N. G. M.

13th August, 1921.

"CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY REFORM"—A REVIEW

An article headed the "Calcutta University Reform," appears in the July number of the *Modern Review*. The writer of the article is Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S., now of the Indian Educational Service. As it comes from a scholar of Prof. Sarkar's reputation on a subject in which we are interested, we have read it with attention. Prof. Sarkar starts with the statement of the essential requisites of a modern University and then mainly in their light makes some poignant observations on the present constitution and management of the Calcutta University. He concludes with a few suggestions for a new University Act. Leaving aside all personal matters which cover a considerable portion of the article, we propose to examine some of the principles enunciated by Prof. Sarkar. We take up to-day his views regarding the importance of money in a modern University. Prof. Sarkar tells us that money is of secondary importance in a modern University provided that the teachers and leaders of the University have the right spirit. He refers us to the beginning of the famous University of Berlin in his support. He incidentally points out that the University cannot shoot up in a moment like the mango tree of the Indian magicians and advises the University authorities to live within means and follow common-sense business methods. Then he passes on to support Mr. Sharp who refused to grant necessary money to the Calcutta University. We quote below some of his observations.

"A University does not add to its reputation if it constantly sits by the roadside, exposing its sores and whining for public charity or snarling at Mr. Sharp when he passes by without considering to add to this year's national deficit of 19 crores."

He next draws a corollary, very important one indeed, from his main proposition. As money is of secondary importance in a modern University and as secondary education is more important than University education he points out that more money should be spent on secondary education than on University education and asks the members of the Legislative Council of Bengal to bear this important fact in mind while the question of apportionment of taxpayer's money arises. He bases his valuable conclusion, he himself says, on the dictum of the present Education Minister of the British Cabinet.

In the first place, we observe that if his main contention—that money is of secondary importance in a modern University fails then all his other conclusions fail of themselves. If money is of essential importance in a modern University, then the State is bound to provide necessary funds for its well-being and equipment. If the University is not really a detachable superstructure, but "the brain and the intelligence which permeates the whole system" of education, as Lord Haldane holds, there cannot be valid reason for spending more upon secondary education than upon University education as urged by Prof. Sarkar. We learn from the same high authority on education that "What has made the German system possible is the assistance which the State has given in founding higher education."[1] The Right Hon'ble Mr. Fisher, in the passage cited by Prof. Sarkar which will be discussed later on, simply urges the necessity of making an adequate provision for efficient secondary schools, but he nowhere says that secondary education is more important than University education. As far as we are aware no educationist of repute has ever made such a statement not to speak of the present Education Minister of the British Cabinet who is undoubtedly a scholar of continental celebrity. Only the other day the said Right Hon'ble gentleman made

[1] Haldane, Education and Empire, p. 46.

provision of eight millions sterling for the *university education* to ex-service men, and by this means he hoped, in some measure, to repair the educational loss occasioned by the suspension of academic activity for five years. He will, we doubt not, really be sorry when he learns that such interpretation has been put upon his words by a member of the Indian Educational Service.

Now to follow up. Prof. Sarkar refers us to the beginning of the famous University of Berlin as described in the Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, in support of his main proposition. But we are sorry to notice that the authority cited by him hardly helps him in any way. On consulting the volume we find that sufficient money was given by the State for the University from the very beginning during a time of the greatest oppression and under the greatest financial difficulties and that the right spirit of the teachers and leaders of the University did not alone suffice as will be evident from the following extract:

"Humboldt's report, conceived in this spirit, was published in May, 1809, and three months later appeared an Order of the Cabinet assigning to the proposed University *the palace of Prince Henry of Prussia at Berlin and a state subvention of 150,000 thales* (*£27,500*) *per annum*. Fichte expressed the general feeling in his statement that this action was the highest example of a practical respect for science and thought ever afforded by a State; for it was given during a time of the direst oppression, and the greatest financial difficulties. It was not an occasion of display or elegance that was sought for, but an instrument for giving new health and vigour to the nation."[1] The readers will please remember in this connection that Prussia had two big Universities, Königsberg and Frankfort on the Oder, besides two smaller ones at the time, and as the terms of the Treaty of Tilsit robbed her of Halle, two of the Halle professors begged the King to establish a new

[1] The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, p, 327.

University in Berlin and this proposal was given effect to after nature consideration. We further learn from the same volume that in the opening year 1810-11 as many as 458 students matriculated and that such patriotic spirit was kindled by the new seat of learning within a very short time as enabled both professors and students to rush to arms in 1813. Having in view all these facts we cannot regard the grant as inadequate. We further observe in passing, that the beginning of the famous University of Berlin clearly shows that a University can grow up shortly provided that we have an adequate provision for its maintenance. We fail to understand why Prof. Sarkar suppresses these facts and places others before his readers evidently to mislead them. This is not worthy of a scholar of his reputation.

The education of the people is as important as the life and property of the persons. It has been pointed out by the best thinkers of the world that money is an essential requisite of every stage of education,—elementary, secondary or higher—and that it is the clear duty of the State to make adequate provision for the education of the people. Secondary education is important no doubt, but all the modern authorities on education lay special stress on university education. Lord Haldane—a high authority on university education—points out that if the State desires that its citizens and servants should be men of the best type, it must provide money for its well-being and equipment. Here are the words of that great educationist:

"And so we arrive at the truth, which is becoming more and more clearly perceived, not here alone, but in other lands,

state must see to the well-being and equipment of its
s if it is to be furnished with the best quality in its
servants."[1]

the *Times Educational Supplement* (July 9,
Monday the 4th July, the Government

[1] Haldane, Universities and National Life, p. 93.

entertained at luncheon, at the Savoy Hotel, the delegates to the Congress of the Universities of the Empire. Mr. Balfour presided. Lord Haldane, Sir Michael Sadler, Sir Gregory Foster and other illustrious educationists of the Empire were present on the occasion. Sir Robert Falconer, President of the University of Toronto, responding to the toast proposed by the Chairman said that "they came from overseas, where the same experience prevailed of overcrowded Universities and diminished exchequer as in this country. They were prepared, however, to face the difficulties, for their people would not tolerate any retrogression. The people of the United States realised what education meant and were spending money on their Universities with a lavishness which would have been regarded as fabulous a few years ago, for in their judgment the future lay with an educated democracy and there was safety alone in such a democracy." The Right Hon'ble Mr. Fisher whose opinion Prof. Sarkar rightly prizes so much proclaims in no uncertain terms the essential necessity of money in a modern University. We cite below an extract from his latest reported speech in connection with the Anglo-American Conference :

"Our Universities are full of students but much embarrassed for money. Books are at famine prices. We shall have spent before we are done eight millions upon providing opportunities of University education to ex-service men, and by this expedient we hope, in some measure, to repair the grave educational loss occasioned by the suspension of academic activity for five years. * * * *Nevertheless, the grim goddess of finance exercises, as she always must in the last resort, an inexorable power.*"[1] Mr. Fisher tells us that finance must in the last resort, exercise an ine
over Universities, but Prof. Sarkar holds that it i
importance provided we have the right spirit. W
to follow—the Right Hon'ble Mr. Fisher or

[1] *Times Educational Supplement*, July 16, 1921.

the Indian Education Service? Everywhere in Europe or America money has been considered as an essential factor of a modern University. In France the State spends a good deal of money for University education. In Germany the Universities are practically maintained by the State. In the words of Lord Haldane, "In Germany it is considered to be a good investment for the State to contribute seventy or eighty per cent. of the cost of the Universities." In America both the State and the rich are spending lavishly for their Universities. In the United Kingdom too, the State spends a considerable amount of money for their Universities. But here in India we hear that money is of secondary importance in a modern University and that it will add to the State deficit of 19 crores. We have enough of money for the military organisation, we have enough of money for the maintenance of the police, we have enough for the increment of the pay of the Civil and Imperial Services and sundry other matters, but when the question of education comes up we are told that we have no money. It is possible to make any such statement here in India only and not in any other civilised country of the world.

Next we want to convey to our readers some idea of money that is indispensably necessary in connection with the maintenance of an up-to-date University. There are four Universities in Scotland. In addition to the magnificent donation of £2,000,000 from Mr. Carnagie and other sources of income, a sum of £72,000 is annually granted by the Parliament for these Universities and is administered by their Courts. The following extract will show how the sum granted by the Parliament is actually expended by them :—

"The Parliamentary grant made annually to the four Scottish Universities is £42,000. The expenditure out of this is not accounted for in detail to the Treasury, nor are nded balances surrendered at the close of the financial he grant is made under section 25 of the Universities

(Scotland) Act 1889. In addition the Universities receive £30,000 annually from the Local Taxation Account under section 2, subsection (*ii*) of the Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act 1892." Thus a sum of £72,000 per annum is received by the Universities from Parliament, and is administered by the University Courts in accordance with the ordinances of the Commissioners under the Universities Act, 1889. The Scotch Education Department does not control these moneys in any way, but under Section 16 (I) (*b*) of the Education Act, 1908, the Secretary for Scotland (the representative head of the Education Department) administers grants to the Universities from the Education (Scotland) Fund.

"The following table shows for 1908-9 the number of students and the allocation of the Parliamentary Grant of £72,000:—

	Grants.	Number of students.
Edinburgh ...	£ 5,920	3,286
Glasgow ...	£20,880	2,699
Aberdeen ...	£14,400	970
St. Andrews ...	£10,800	585
TOTAL ...	£72,000	7,540 " [1]

Prof. Sarkar refers to the Right Hon'ble Mr. Fisher's latest reported speech at Plymouth but does not give us his views regarding the money problem of a modern University. But we learn from the report of Mr. W. L. Munday,—the Chairman of the Plymouth Education Committee, evidently formed on the lines of suggestions made by Mr. Fisher "the University Grants Committee had it a condition that minimum income of a University granting degrees in arts and pure science was £45,000, and that Exeter College needed £20,000 to bring it up to that level. For a multi-faculty University, which was the ultimate aim, the income needed was £100,000." Thus

[1] The Teachers' Encyclopædia, Vol. VI, pp. 61-62.

us that such should not be the case in India at the greatest crisis in her history.

Most Indians do not quite realise the importance of university education. That was exactly the case with the Americans even in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In that period many older men were heard saying, "What is the difference between a college and a university?" It is now-a-days generally admitted in Europe and America that college training is one thing and university training is another; "that college instruction is disciplinary, requires definite, but not uniform methods, and a certain deference to the authority of the master; while university instruction is much freer, and the scholar is encouraged to inquire rather than to accept; to test and observe rather than to hear and recite; to walk with a friendly guide rather than to obey a commander."[1] According to Lord Haldane—a high authority on education, University "is a place of research, where the new and necessary knowledge is to be developed and it is further a place of training, where the exponents of that knowledge—the men who are to seek authority based on it—are to be nurtured and receive their spiritual baptism."[2] The elementary school may help us in getting a number of men with rudiments of knowledge and a number of skilled labourers at best. The secondary schools develop a much smaller and still larger class of well-trained men. But it is the ideal work of the University to produce such exceptionally trained type of citizens whose calling requires high talent, and who are fit to lead as well as to organise. Thus conceived the universities are "the very intellectual centres of the nation, the centres from which emanate light and leading in almost every walk of life, and most of all in our intellectual life." By starving these fountain-heads of culture and enlightenment you really starve the very intellectual life of the nation.

[1] *Vide* the article on "Universities" in the Encylopædia Britannica, 11th edition.

[2] Haldane, Universities and aNtional Life, p. 105.

elementary system, but the secondary system does not exist as a systematised whole and is in need of being co-ordinated and put upon a proper and regulated basis.[1] Only the other day some regulations were passed in England for improving the efficiency of secondary education. As secondary system is in need of efficiency, Mr. Fisher has simply pointed that out. He purposely uses the word "efficient" before "secondary schools," for in his opinion, a secondary system cannot advance without "highly trained teachers," who are undoubtedly products of the University. In Germany, America, and France, the universities or establishments in close connection with the universities are the training places of teachers. All the modern authorities on education altogether repudiate the idea of having such separate establishments as "normal schools," or "training colleges" for the training of teachers. We know as a matter of fact that secondary systems have worked better where the influence of the University has been brought to bear upon them. There cannot be two opinions about the fact that by improving the University system we indirectly improve the secondary and elementary school system as well. It is a well-known fact that everywhere in America and Europe educational authorities have spent much upon their Universities. Why so? Because they are decidedly of opinion that by advancing higher education they simply advance the whole educational machinery. We have noted above what has made the German educational system possible is the assistance the State has rendered in founding higher education. It is known to all that America is going ahead very fast. Why is it? It is due, "partly at least, to the development of higher teaching, that has taken place in America."[2] The progressive Universities of Great Britain such as that of London, are spending a good deal of money. But a belated member of the Indian Educational Service tells

[1] Haldane, Education and Empire, p. 60.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 61.

In order to achieve its ends a University requires a number of scholars who have concentrated their whole attention upon different subjects of study and research and are prepared to accomplish them with all their strength. A scholar who would accomplish anything of value must limit himself. The first duty of a university teacher is "to seek to comprehend clearly what his strength will let him accomplish, and then to do it with his might." He looks neither to the right nor to the left, but goes onward for the attainment of his purpose. Singleness of aim always dominates his life. When a well-[illegible]pped University succeeds in securing a number of such dedicated lives, it need not despair. Its success is not to be measured by its apparent failure to reach some end, but by the quality of its striving. Judging by this standard, we must say that the Calcutta University is a great success. Only the other day Mr. Stark said in the Legislative Council of Bengal that "since the Calcutta University was established its achievements had been remarkable in the history of educational progress in any country in the world."

Mr. Sharp calls the University of Calcutta an *imperium in imperio*. Prof. Sarkar repeats the same tale. Let us see whether the University of Calcutta is really one government within another under the present Indian Universities Act of 1904. The Body Corporate of the Calcutta University called its Senate consists of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, *Ex-officio* Fellows, and Ordinary Fellows. In the First Schedule of the Act we come across the names of the persons who are the *Ex-officio* Fellows of the University. With the exception of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, they are all high Government officials. Section 6 of the Act provides that the number of the Ordinary Fellows shall not be less than fifty nor exceed one hundred and of such number 10 shall be elected by Registered Graduates, ten by the Faculties, and the remainder shall be nominated by the Chancellor. The Executive Government of the University is vested in the Syndicate which consists of

the Vice-Chancellor, Director of Public Instruction, and 15 *Ex-officio* or Ordinary Fellows of the University elected for a year, four of whom to be elected by the Senate, four by the Faculty of Arts, two by the Faculty of Science, two by the Faculty of Law, two by the Faculty of Medicine, and one by the Faculty of Engineering. Further, there is a Board of Accounts consisting of three Fellows other than members of the Syndicate which is appointed by the Senate at its Annual Meeting. This is in outline its present constitution. As constituted under the Act it is purely a Government Institution. The Calcutta University Commission having for its Presid[illegible] such an eminent educationist as Sir M. E. Sadler, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, holds the same view. It observes that "the relations between Government and the University are of an unsatisfactory kind, involving far too much detailed Government intervention which cannot be satisfactorily exercised and undermines the sense of responsibility of the University authorities." If so, we ask, where is the basis for the so-called stigma that it is an *imperium in imperio*?

It has been pointed out by eminent educationists that a "University cannot live and thrive under the domination either of the Government or the Church.[1] Freedom and development are the breath of its nostrils, and it can recognise no authority except that which rests on the right of the Truth to command obedience."[1] If so, every University is in fact an *imperium in imperio.* Anyone studying the constitution of the Universities of the world will notice that best Universities enjoy full autonomy as regards their management which is a matter of vital importance to all teaching bodies. Take, for instance, the constitution of the University of Cambridge.

"The senate in congregation is the legislative body. Those who vote in it are the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, doctors of divinity, law, medicine, science, letters and music, and masters of art, law, surgery and music. The council of the

[1] Haldane, Universities and National Life, p. 105.

senate, consisting of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, four heads of colleges, four professors and eight other members of the senate chosen by the electoral roll, brings all proposals (called Graces) before the senate. *The revenues of the University are derived chiefly from fees at Matriculation, for certain examinations, and degrees, from a tax upon all the members of the University, and from contributions by the colleges, together with the profits of the University Press.* A financial board, consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, *ex-officio* and certain elected members, administers the finances of the University. There are boards for each of the various faculties, and a General Board of Studies, with the Vice-Chancellor at the head. There are University professors, readers and lecturers in a large number of subjects."[1]

Thus we see that the Senate in congregation does everything for the University and does not allow either the Parliament or any other corporate body to interfere with its management. To express the same fact in the language of Mr. Sharp, it is an *imperium in imperio.* Not only the University of Cambridge but every University of Great Britain and America worth the name enjoys full autonomy. But in Bengal the Senate in congregation is ridiculed even for exercising its legitimate authority. It has been contemptuously characterised as an *imperium in imperio.* We believe Mr. Sharp is an Englishman and undoubtedly knows something of the Universities of his mother-land. He should not have so soon forgotten all his British training.

We observe in passing that the fees for Matriculation and on certain other examinations and degrees are used by the Cambridge University for the furtherance of higher studies. It has never been objected to in England, but to do so has been considered as sacrilegious in Bengal. We further note that the Vice-Chancellor of the Universities of Cambridge, Harvard, Leeds, and other Universities is the President of all their

[1] *Vide* the article "Cambridge" in Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Edition.

faculties. But Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has been vehemently attacked by Prof. Sarkar for doing the same thing in Calcutta. Under its present constitution with more than 80 per cent. Government nominees, if Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has succeeded in becoming the ruler of the Calcutta University, he is undoubtedly a power—a power of no mean order—and it further appears that his colleagues most of whom are not dependent on him in any way follow his light and leading because they feel that his administration is for the good of the majority. One-man rule is not necessarily an evil. Many States have advanced under one-man rule. It is a well-known fact that Great Britain prospered under the administration of Pitt and Germany under that of Bismarck. In India at present Mahatma Gandhi is the *de facto* ruler of the Indian National Congress. It is not the lot of all to lead; few are born to lead, the rest are led. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee inspite of his faults, for as a man he must have faults of his own, is undoubtedly the fittest man to manage the present affairs of the Calcutta University. To tell the truth we can name none else in India who is fitter for the task. If you consider him incompetent on good grounds—on grounds other than personal animosities and jealousies, replace him by all means, replace him by a person who is abler than he to tide over the present difficulties of the Calcutta University. We have no objection—none in the least. But do not try to ruin a University of 65 years' standing with unparalleled records of success by refusing to make an adequate provision for its upkeep. You must not adopt any such suicidal policy. It will seriously jeopardise the progress of your mother-land. When Germany was under the heels of Napoleon who saved her? Men like Fichte and Von Humboldt who urged the people to educate themselves and to found Universities. America is becoming so very great and powerful partly because she is spending lavishly upon her Universities. Only the other day Sir Robert Falconer—the President of the University of Toronto—

said in the Congress of the Universities of the Empire that his countrymen were prepared to face the difficulties, for they would not tolerate any retrogression. Will Indians alone with all their past glories and civilisation allow themselves to retrograde? It is unbecoming of the past tradition of India. In the name of civilisation and education, we ask you again not to do so. Furnish the multi-faculty University of Calcutta with necessary funds and see what it achieves in the course of a generation. Young India will do well to remember the noble words of an eminent educationist that "to maintain the Universities of the country at a high level is thus an act of high patriotism on the part of the citizens."[1]

ABHAYKUMAR GUHA

[1] Haldane, Universities and National Life, p. 9.

"SOME PROPOSALS OF REFORM"

The first instalment of a Private Report has been received from a Private Secretary attached to the Legislative Department—an excessively private Report from a strictly Private Secretary—dealing with grave matters of current moment and forecasting the course which public affairs are expected to follow now that the amount of ink requisitioned for drafting the Crown evidence in the Karnani trial has been placed at the disposal of our new ministers. The Report is prefaced by a dignified explanation issued upon high authority regarding the precise meaning of the word "Legislative" when used in conjunction with the word "Department." This action has been rendered necessary in view of a rumour which, as a result of the trial (to the public) above referred to has been spreading in the bazaars adjacent to Harrison Road. It is categorically denied that the word "Legislative" means anything but "law-making." The assertion that it suggests "law-breaking" has no foundation.

The Report then proceeds to deal with the policy of the action taken by the Government in the matter of the Karnani trial.

The public, says the Report, are regrettably ignorant of the penetrating insight which lies behind high diplomacy. The esoteric functioning of high finance is as nothing compared to the subtle intricacies of the motives which dictate that rare class of measure about which the Viceroy has from time to time to be consulted—five days afterwards. Now, it is the first task of the new Government to kill the Non-Co-Operation Movement. Till the protagonists of that misguided creed are provided with Manchester cushions in the new councils, the nasal breathing of members on the front benches when ministers are reading their speeches will always have a depressing note. For one cannot snore musically so long as

one's dreams are disturbed by revolting visions of barristers refusing briefs amidst the incoherent roaring of vibrant voices vociferating "See our Das!" and "I be Sen!" The thing is not decent. Moreover, there are other considerations. In the matter of controlling "Exchange" or even of binding it down to keep the peace, the Government had to admit defeat. One valuable member of the Indian Civil Service died of ulcers on the brain, another took to,—that is, embraced ways of which the well-known American citizen, Mr. P. Johnson, has spoken rather disparagingly, and a third retired from the Service in order to take a course in "How to Avoid Self-Contradiction," at the School of Pelmanism. The matter would have assumed the proportions of a riot had not the well-known Economist, Mr. Hailey, made the novel and astounding discovery that the movement of Exchange like Einstein's Theory of Light is the result of natural laws to control which human legislation is powerless.

(A confidential note was thereupon forwarded by the Secretary of State to the Government of India suggesting that wherever other considerations permit, the positions of Finance Members are in future to be filled by such members of the Service as possess a research degree in Economics. This was noted.) The Government was rescued from embarrassment and confidence was just about to be restored in its policy of "Laissez Faire," when the "Non-Co-operation" party violated all the laws of decorum by appearing on the scene armed with "Charkhas." The country suddenly manifested a vulpine appetite for the obnoxious product of these machines, the law-abiding Marwari community were forced for want of a market to curtail and cancel their dealings in Manchester textiles, imports fell off and exchange promptly executed several unseemly leaps upwards. Mr. Hailey and his brother scientists could suggest no remedy. What was to be done? Against "Charkhas" even machine-guns were powerless—besides the non-co-operators had already "cannonised"

their leader, Mr. Gandhi, who was being referred to as a saint. It was necessary to discredit these people in the eyes of the country. Now, mark the ways of ingenious, subtle and triumphant diplomacy. The Karnani trial establishes a precedent which no court of criminal jurisdiction can dare to ignore. Henceforward, it will be a sufficient defence to an indictment for murder that the accused was concerned in a business for the manufacture of hatchets from Indian iron, to a charge of cheating that he was Director of a company for the production of diamonds from Indian glass, to a prosecution for uttering false cheques that he was the founder of an Indian bank, to an accusation of forgery that he was a shareholder in a concern for manufacturing milk from Indian chalk. The consequences are appalling. The Gandhi cap will become the badge of sin and the "Charkha" the loom of Satan. The Non-Co-Operation camp will become the refuge of the criminal classes. God-fearing citizens will clamour for admission to the councils. At the call of respectability Mr. Das may allow himself to be appointed Advocate-General and Mr. Gandhi may even become Commissioner of Police! As a political and economic movement Non-Co-Operation will be as dead as a drowned kitten. Its adherents from being a reprehensible rabble of cynical obstructionists will become a constitutionally conducted opposition of precise "progressives"!!

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The Report then proceeds to foreshadow some of the questions which will call for immediate attention after the Non-Co-Operation Party has been demobilised and its members accommodated inside the Reformed Councils. These questions are marshalled in order of importance.

I. *Structural Alterations to Council Halls.*—It will be necessary at the public expense to construct a water-duct leading from the roof into the interior of each Council Chamber

in order to provide the Opposition with rain-water, which, according to report, is the only beverage they are accustomed to drink. No inlet will be provided for thunder or lightning. Of these enough is expected to be generated indoors.

Each Chamber will be provided with a refrigerating and a heating apparatus, the former to be placed amongst the Opposition benches and the latter behind the Ministerial. It is anticipated that the atmosphere surrounding the Opposition will at times become unduly heated, whereas our new Ministers are likely to suffer from that chilly feeling which displays itself in a sudden and unpleasant clamminess of the brow.

II. *Ink Supplies.*—Facilities for a free flow of ink in Secretariat Offices are to be provided in accordance with specifications to be taken from Tala. The tap system will prevent an undue mortality amongst *chaprasis* who fall victims to a malignant form of lumbago when requested to carry heavy buckets up and down stairs.

III. *Office Appliances.*—To ensure the proper tying up and docketing of heavy documents, such as Memorials, Applications, Petitions and Complaints, a constant supply of tape is to be arranged for, the colour of which must be red.

IV. *Inter-Departmental Communications.*—When a Minister or Member of the Executive Council has occasion to address an enquiry or other communication to any Minister or Member in charge of another Department, he will be expected to forward such enquiry or other communication through the Secretary of State. This method is expected to be more expeditious than the system of sending notes by *chaprasis*.

V. *Amendments to the Constitution.*—The distinction between Transferred and Reserved Subjects is to be replaced by a division of Executive functions into Transferred Reserved and Relegated Subjects—*i.e.*, "Relegated" to oblivion. It is not yet quite clear what subjects this last-mentioned group

will embrace, but it is certain that University Education will be one of them. This, however, will be subject to a qualification in favour of New Universities, *e.g.*, Dacca, which are to have in addition to Colleges, Lecture Halls, Hostels, Professional Vice-Chancellors, Libraries and Laboratories, a Billiard Saloon, a Swimming-Bath, a Night Club, and a Barber's shop. In fact, the principle is to be established that the older the University the less the attention it is to receive. The reward of old age is senile decay. In the case of the Calcutta University, provision will, however, be made for the salaries of at least three menials as it will be necessary in view of the Rash Behary Ghosh bequest to keep the ceiling of the Science College free from cobwebs.

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The first instalment of the Private Report ends rather abruptly here. The Private Secretary at this stage went away to consult a well-known Ex-Member for Education as to the precise meaning of the word "University," and the Ex-Member, discovering that the Private Secretary was thinking of Calcutta, had that excellent gentleman locked up and since then no more has been heard of him.

N. A. K.

LITERARY, LINGUISTIC, AND OTHER SKETCHES

POLISH SKETCHES

I.—The Literature of Poland

1. General

The oldest literary documents date from about 966 A.D., the date of Christianisation of Poland; they are written in Latin, the oldest historical production consisting of annals and chronicles. Some literary monuments written in the Polish language date from the thirteenth century. A great intellectual impetus was given by the foundation of the University of Krakow in 1364, which is the second-oldest University of Central Europe, the oldest being that of Prague. Thanks to the initiative of Queen Jadwigoe, the University of Krakow, from the year 1400, became one of [illegible] Universities of Europe, the subjects chiefly [illegible]eing scholastic philosophy, mathematics and [illegible]e great Kopernikus was the pupil of the ma[illegible]ian Brudzew. The fifteenth century produced a rich ha[illegible]est of Latin poems; indeed, Latin remained a spoken language among the educated people of Poland long after it had ceased to be spoken by the educated classes in Italy.

The first printed book in the Polish language was published in 1521.

The second half of the sixteenth century witnessed the rapid development of indigenous literature; that was the "Golden Era of the Sigismunds," the "Okres Zygmuntowski."

The epoch of the two Augusts of Saxony was a time of political, intellectual and moral decay; but notwithstanding that some valuable literary work was done. Even ladies began to engage themselves in literature, the most notable one being Elzbieta Druzbacka (died in 1765), who wrote phantastic tales, satires and idyllic poems of considerable merit.

On the initiative of King Stanislaus August, the Polish parliament appointed a commission, which developed into the first ministry of education in Europe; this commission reformed the Universities of Krakow and Wilna, established a great number of middle and elementary schools and founded a society for the publication of elementary school books.

The first public Polish theatre was established in Warszawa (Warsaw) in 1765 and gave a great impetus to dramatic activities. An influential author of this period was the satirist Ignacy Krasicki (1735-1801). Several other writers of considerable merit made their appearance at this period. One of the notable products of the time immediately succeeding the Third Partition of Poland was the lyric poem "The Polish Bard" by the famous statesman Adam Czartoryski, in which the poet pours out his grief over the fall of his motherland and his belief in a brighter future.

The University of Warszawa (Warsaw) was founded in 1818, and the capital became a centre of great intellectual activity. The University of Wilna counted among its distinguished teachers the great biologist and humorist Andreas Sniadecki.

After a period of activity of imitators of the French Pseudoclassicists, Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855), one of the most popular and most influential of Poland's authors, became the real founder of the Polish romantic school. Mickiewicz, born in a small town in Lituania, educated in the University of Wilna, then at the height of its fame, was a man possessed of deep knowledge of human nature and the world around him. He was an exceedingly fertile writer and published in 1834 the great epos Pan Tadeusz, which is considered by critics to be the greatest national epic poem of the nineteenth century. Two other authors of that period, Slowacki and Krasinski form with Mickiewicz the constellation of Poland's three greatest romanticists, each one a complement to the other two. Mickiewicz depicts the real life of the people and is the

poet of love in its different aspects; Slowacki is distinguished by rich imagination, a deep melancholy and ironical tendencies rooted in his dissatisfaction with existing conditions; Krasinski is a philosopher and a thinker who bases higher morality on reason. "All three harbour a firm belief in high moral ideals and the progress of humanity; all three are great masters of the Polish language. Every Pole can feel with, and understand Mickiewicz; Slowacki's works appeal only to refined minds susceptible to everything that is beautiful; Krasinski can be fully appreciated alike by educated and eigners and his own people." Besides these s, the period of 1831-1863 produced a galaxy inguished and patriotic writers. Among them fertile novelist Kraczewski, whose literary ill six hundred volumes. Nor must we forget orian Lelewel and the school founded by him.

The ill-fated revolution of 1863-64 produced a depreciation of romantic ideals and opened the door to the positivism of Auguste Comte. The attempted russification of Poland and a strict censorship was not, however, successful in killing Polish nationalism. Conditions were more favourable in Galicia which, under the Austrian Government, received a large measure of autonomy and the right to use the Polish language in administration, courts and schools. The attempts made by the Prussian Government to germanise the province of Posen, although not crowned with success, interfered with national-literary activity, but the system of compulsory primary education, introduced long ago in Prussia had the beneficent effect that long before the year 1919 there were no illiterates in the province of Posen, the ancient Great-Poland. Successful attempts were soon made by modern Polish authors to smooth over the gap between romanticism and sober positivism. Here we meet the great Lyric compose Adam Asnyk and the famous poetess Marja Konopnicka, whose poetry breathes deep sympathy with peasants and workmen, with the lowly

and depressed. She published also valuable studies of great Polish writers and translated numerous works of foreign authors. Equally distinguished are two other authoresses—Eliza Orzeszkowa and Marja Rodziewiczówna. It would lead us too far to refer to the numerous authors whom modern times have produced. Poland's literature is one of the richest, as rich as the language in which it has found its expression.

2. Two great modern Polish authors

As representatives of two different tendencies in mod Polish literature we may choose Henryk Sienkiewicz Stefan Zeromski, one the author of some of the historical romances ever written in any country, a pronounced pessimist. Sienkiewicz was bo died during the Great War. His short stories great masterpieces of that type of literature "Carbon Sketches" and "Janko the Musician stories are: "Bartek the Victor," describing the ad a Posen peasant who took part in the Franco-Germa of 1870; "The Search after Bread," a picture of the s gs of a Polish farmer and his daughter, emigrants to the United States, "Out of the memoirs of a Polish Teacher," describing the sad conditions of a Polish scholar in a Russian school. After Sienkiewicz had paid a visit to the United States he wrote "Latarnik" the "Light-house Keeper," depicting the power which the love of the motherland has over a Polish emigrant. The genius of Sienkiewicz as a great writer manifests itself especially in his great trilogy "By Fire and Sword," "The Flood" and "Pan Wolodyjowski." The author declares it as his object to console his compatriots by reminding them of the tragic events of former days and of the awakening of the spirit of patriotism in recent time, a sign of the dawn of a brighter future. Still more famous is "Quo vadis?" which has been translated into nearly every European language; the most successful of these translations

being undoubtedly the Italian one by Federigo Verdinois, the Italian language being beautifully adapted to the author's vivid and accurate description of the conditions obtaining in Rome during the rule of Nero, a monster in human form. "The Knight of the Cross" draws a vivid picture of the Order of the German Knights and of the Polish nobility on the eve of the momentous battle of Tannenberg. His later novel, "The Whirl-pool" is based on the revolutionary movements which took place in the years 1905 and 1906. As Sienkiewicz's "Quo vadis?" is so well known—even the cinematograph has contributed to spreading its fame,— we shall not present our readers with specimens of the great author's productions.

Stefan Zeromski was born in 1864 in Strawczyn near the town of Kielce; he completed the courses of the "Gymnasium" at Kielce, studied in the University of Warszawa, was private tutor in several Polish families, resided in Switzerland during the years 1892-1896, travelled in Italy, France and Germany and finally took his abode in Warszawa. Of the modern Polish authors he is one of the most famous. As already stated, Zeromski is a pessimist, who combines the craving after what is best with the fatalistic belief in the unavoidable existence of evil. Of his stories of modern life may be mentioned: "We shall be torn by Ravens and Crows" (here in India we should probably say: "We shall be devoured by jackals and vultures"); "Labours of Sisyphus," "People without a Roof over their Head," a picture of Polish labourers in industrial centres, and "The Story of a Sin." Zeromski has also written a number of historical novels. The following are extracts from his novel "The Ray," a series of sketches of the life in a town in what was formerly Russian Poland.

A Railway Journey in Russian Poland.

"To Morysow, Tarcice, Polomisko, Lzawiec!" called out the conductor.

"And where is the carriage for non-smokers?" asked Raduski politely.

"For non-smokers? Eh? Farther in front. The first carriage."

This first carriage appeared to smoke itself, for smoke was pouring in volumes out of doors and windows, smoke from cigars and pipes smelling like burning heaps of half-dried potato-plants in the second week of September. On benches, boards and under the benches sat a whole colony of grown-up children of Israel, engaged in eager and noisy conversation. Raduski remained helplessly in front of one of the open doors trying to discover an empty seat, but none was to be seen. He looked into another carriage, equally crowded, the occupants being of Aryan descent. The smoke which filled the carriage was as dense as in that reserved for Jews and reminded Raduski as strongly as the other of autumnal potato-fields. Not only were all seats occupied, but there was hardly any standing room. Finally the wanderer spotted an empty seat in a third carriage and sat down on it. The conductor blew his whistle, when a fresh swarm of human beings streamed into the carriage, until there would have been no room even for a falling pin to reach the floor. The train started. Raduski's nose nearly came in contact with the projecting frontal parts of an immensely stout passenger on the opposite seat, whilst at his side sat two little girls accompanied by a matronly woman, who might have been their mother, aunt or grandmother. The girls sat stiffly upright in the endeavour not to be crushed by the fronts, backs or hands of passengers crowding round them and treating them as if they were life-less bundles or packages. Their anxious eyes were filled with wonder and apprehension. The elderly lady tried to save them from being crushed or buffeted by projecting elbows, but after she herself had had a knock in her ribs, she allowed matters to take their course. Behind the girls sat a man in a worn-out fur-coat, on his head one of those hats which in common parlance are called

"melons." In a loud voice which could be heard all over the carriage he related anecdotes as old as his fur-coat and of as little intrinsic value. Then the voice of a red-haired passenger was heard: "You mangy Jew, tie up your bundle as long as I am in good humour and do not wait until I lose my temper!" These words were addressed to a Jewish lad who sat quietly at the very end of one of the benches.

"Why do you meddle with other people's affairs? Are you the chucker-out of an inn?" retorted the lad. The man in the old-fashioned fur-coat murmured: "Away with you, Jew of the Old Testament; I tell you, you will take a flying leap out of the carriage, squeaking like a pig. Go into the carriage reserved for Jews!" "I have a right to be here," replied the youth; "I have a ticket entitling me to travel in this carriage." "Even if you have a ticket as you say, I counsel you, as if I was your own mother, not to sit near me, if you don't want to run the risk of changing this bench for a little white coffin." "Do you imagine I have not a pair of fists?" shouted the lad. This outburst was answered by a shower of knocks between his ribs, which induced the lad to take his place quietly among the throng of people who were standing in the passage.

In the centre of the carriage stood a stove in which burnt a bright coal-fire. The passengers, both those sitting and those standing went on smoking the vilest tobacco without intermission. The atmosphere was stifling. Raduski's little neighbours evidently suffered acutely. Opposite them sat two young men, talking loudly, whilst the younger of the two smoked one cigarette after the other and seemed to take a pleasure in blowing clouds of smoke into the face of the elder of the two girls, whose age was probably not more than seven years. Not satisfied with his own performance, he offered a cigarette to his companion. The poor girl grew paler and paler and finally got sick. Raduski pushed the two young fellows aside, and opened a window and politely requested

them to abstain from smoking. They looked at him astonished, as if he had addressed them in Malay, and continued their conversation. The girl recovered and Raduski had to close the window again, after a man, with a yellow face, broad nose, pointed chin and an expression of sour pessimism on his face had called out that he was in danger of contracting an inflammation of his right lung. As soon as the window had been closed, the young man opposite took out his box of cigarettes and a box of matches and offered a cigarette to his companion. "Sir," exclaimed Raduski, "please do not smoke. Do you not see that the girl is on the point of fainting?" The young man smiled in a sheepish way and did not remove the cigarette from his mouth. It happened at the moment that the conductor went along the carriage. Raduski requested him to show him and the two girls to a compartment for non-smokers. It turned out that such an asylum was not to be found in any of the third-class carriages. "The public will smoke. How can we help it?" said the conductor. "Then take me and the two girls to a second-class carriage!" requested Raduski. "The second-class carriages are worse," replied the conductor. "The only remedy is to make this carriage a carriage for non-smokers." With these words the conductor turned a label round so that the words "Smoking forbidden here!" became visible. The only result was that the Catholic who had had an altercation with the Jewish lad rose from his seat and lighted a cigar. This example was instantly followed by the two youths, and the man in the fur-coat took out a cigar, bit off the end, spat out the fragment and called out: "This *was* a carriage for smokers, *now* it is one for non-smokers. Whose nose is irritated by smoke, let him better pack himself off to a first-class carriage." Raduski got angry and replied: "The question is not about grown-up people, but about a child who feels sick." "Child! Feels sick! Such illness is good for the health! It won't do any harm to the little countess!" retorted the owner of the shabby fur-coat. All

the neighbours laughed, enjoying the encounter. Raduski was silenced; the man with the "melon" on his head looked about with a provocative smile; victory remained with Lady Nicotine.

The whistle sounded. "Morysow!" somebody whispered. The train stopped. A number of passengers alighted. Fresh air found its way through the open doors. Raduski with the permission of the elderly lady, took the two little girls out for a walk on the platform. The second bell rang. Hardly had Raduski and his two friends reconquered their [illegible] than there appeared in the doorway a huge bundle rolled up in a chequered piece of cloth and behind the bundle an old lady, her head so tightly covered by wrappers, that only portions of her wrinkled face, her protruding lips and sparse teeth were visible. Behind her walked a thin elderly lady similarly wrapped up. The first lady, after having managed to roll her bundle into the carriage, began to talk to nobody in particular. "Mrs. Pisarkiewicz," she related, "and myself went by train returning to our home, and we were talking about all sorts of things." "Palenisko," suddenly whispered Mrs. Pisarkiewicz, "Palenisko is our home. Up we jumped and rolled our bundle out of the carriage. But where was Palenisko? We saw a curious looking building and a cows' stable, and a big forest black like soot. We remained standing wondering where we were, we looked round, and there the train was gone. That happened yesterday, before midnight. Holy Domicella! We didn't seem to be in Palenisko. Two boxes, one belonging to my husband and one to Mrs. Pisarkiewicz had been put in the brake-van. Good people, please tell us what will happen to them?" Somebody, in some corner, remarked: "You should have been more alert. Your husband will tan your back with the fire-hook and that will be the end of the trouble." The old lady continued: "We ran to the station master, we talked to him, we questioned him, we entreated him—nothing! He

stretched out both his arms and said: 'You will have to wait till to-morrow afternoon, and your tickets will be of no use to you then, and the boxes will be all right.' But what was to happen to us? My husband was to meet us; he had borrowed a horse and cart from our neighbour Zielin'ski; for the distance from the station to our house is nine werst. Mrs. Pisarkiewicz and I stood stiff with fright. We had hardly any money left: we bought two cups of tea and a loaf of bread and were told by the porter to find a place to sleep on one of the wooden benches. So here we are." And the poor old lady suddenly broke out lamenting and in a voice, as if she confessed to be a murderess, she exclaimed: "And now we are travelling without a ticket, and we shall be thrown out of the carriage."

The close atmosphere of the carriage finally put the two old ladies to sleep. Raduski quietly put himself in communication with the elder of the two little girls. The girl looked at him, then at her lady companion, then at something she held in her right hand and finally slid down from her seat, approached the sleeping woman, slipped a three-ruble note between her folded hands, and returned to her seat, she and her sister curiously watching the sleeper. The latter finally awoke. "My dear people, what is the meaning of this? I had fallen asleep and I dreamt of a ram with two black horns who was going to charge at me. I awaken, I move my fingers and there, something rustles between my hands. I look. Holy Domicella of Polonki, what is the meaning of it?"

The train stopped. Lzawiec!—Raduski alighted.

(To be continued)

P. BRÜHL.

OUR BENEFACTORS

(1)

PREMCHUND ROYCHUND

The first and one of the foremost names that stands in the list of our benefactors is that of Premchund Roychund, a name that is very well-known to the *alumni* of the Calcutta University in connection with the Premchund Roychund Studentships while Bombay owes to him her finest edifice, the magnificent "Rajabai Tower."

Like all great men, Premchund came of humble parentage. He was born at Surat in 1831. He belonged to the *Bania* caste well-known for its shrewd commercial and business instincts.

After a brief schooling in the three R's at Bombay, he acquired a smattering of English, and began life as a broker on the stock exchange, under Ratanchand Lala. In six years, his family had amassed a modest fortune of about a lakh of rupees, and that formed the nucleus of his business career. When the American Civil War broke out in 1860, the Lancashire market which was hitherto supplied with American cotton was cut off from its normal source of supply, and the Lancashire market was short of cotton. So there was an abnormal demand for Indian cotton by the English merchants. The price of the Indian cotton inevitably went up. There is a tradition in Bombay that even the street beggars refused to take money but were satisfied if they were given a handful of cotton. There was a huge cotton boom during the years of war, and it was in that speculation that Premchund made his magnificent fortune. During his palmy days, Premchund started a large number of banks, the best known of which was the Asiatic Banking Corporation. It is said of him, that so rich was he beyond the dreams of avarice that he did not

even take the trouble of recovering his debts, if his debtors happened to come when he was enjoying his mid-day siesta.

He has been called the Napolean of finance but he was something more: he was a "Data-Karna" and with him money was a "Divine trust." He gave the princely sum of four lakhs to the University of Bombay; one-half of this sum was to be utilised towards the erection of the University library and the other half for the erection of a tower containing a large clock and a set of joy-bells, and in commemoration of his mother the tower was named "Rajabai tower." Premchund was catholic in his charities. He gave an endowment [redacted] lakhs of rupees in 1864 to the Calcutta University and very generously attached no conditions to his gift. While accepting this gift, the Hon'ble Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Maine, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University, remarked as follows:—

"I attach an importance to this gift beyond its actual money value as being possibly the first instalment of a series of benefactions on which this University will ultimately have to depend if ever it becomes a national institution."

A remarkable prophecy which has proved literally true; and it is our pleasant duty to enumerate all the benefactions which the University of Calcutta has received in the later issues of this "Review."

This munificent donation was invested by the University in 5% Government Securities, and six studentships of Rs. 1,400 each a year are now maintained from out of the depreciating interest of this endowment. These studentships are awarded every year for the promotion of research in some "literary or scientific subject."

In addition to these gifts to the two Universities, Premchund gave benefactions amounting to 60 lakhs of Rupees to various charitable and religious institutions. He founded a female school in his native town of Surat; he endowed the city of Broach with a library and he established

several "Hindu Dharmasalas" (rest-houses) and built many temples.

As was inevitable, the cotton bubble burst in 1865 when the American Civil war ended and the American Cotton Markets were re-opened to Lancashire. There was a sudden drop in the Indian cotton market, resulting in Premchund's financial ruin. Although Premchund had now become a comparatively poor man, he still kept a stout heart and after a remarkable career full of honour, glory and suffering, he passed away in 1906 at the ripe old age of 76, leaving behind him an ever-green memory in the hearts of his countrymen. We, of the Calcutta University, can never forget his great and munificent benefaction to the cause of the advancement of learning.

Gleanings

SALUTE TO THE ORIENT!

Salute to the Orient! Given at Port Said presumably, where the statue of M. de Lesseps points to the Suez Canal with one hand and waves in the other a heavy bunch of large stone sausages. "Me voici," he gesticulates, adding "Le voilà" as an afterthought. Voilà Egypt and Africa to the right, Syria and Asia to the left, while in front of M. de Lesseps is the sausages' outcome, the narrow trough that he has contrived across the sands to the Red Sea. It leads rather too far, that trough, to the mouths of the Indus and the Ganges, unmanageable streams. Nearer Port Said lie trouble and interest enough, skies that are not quite tropic, religions that are just comprehensible people who grade into the unknown steeply, yet who sometimes recall European friends.

Prayers to be offered up after saluting the Orient. Numerous prayers.

May I never resemble M. de Lesseps in the first place; may no achievement upon an imposing scale be mine, no statistics, philanthropy, co-ordination or uplift. Good deeds, but scattered deeds, that shall be remembered for a few years only, like a wayside tomb. O deliver my soul from efficiency! When obstacles cease to occur in my plans, when I always get the utmost out of Orientals, it will be the surest proof that I have lost the East. A prayer against impropriety may follow—against hashish, almées, odalisques, the can-can; coupled with a prayer against propriety, which is more difficult to frame. Beware of impeccable introductions. Seek not that which is best in native society, for it leads to mutual log-rolling, not to the best. "Sons of the Desert, I too am a gentleman. All hail!" This will not do at all:—Then there is the prayer against cynicism which if a man forget he shall be damned, shall not even notice the sunlight in time, or that the sea is dark blue and the sky light blue, or that there are kites in Cairo and none in Alexandria. So when the old residents say to me, as they will, "There is no such country as the Orient, there is only Dagoland": I must reply to them: "You may be right, but I must gain my own disillusionment, not adopt yours; you

does sound Chinese, and it is a personal matter, anyway; and, besides, this method of instruction would be effective and according to sound pedagogical principles. But it would be a decided affront to some of our time-honoured American institutions if they should learn that out of one hundred students who wish to attend Yale University, four would have to look in the atlas to know what part of the world they were bound for, while six would purchase railway fares for Ithaca and thirty-six would proceed blithely on their way to Cambridge. But once arrived in New England, two of them would be forced to the discovery that Boston is not a city of Maine, and one would find, not without surprise, that Massachusetts, instead of Connecticut, claims the honor of harboring 'the Hub.' [redacted]e educational possibilities of travel. Our Tokyo-bound friends would in the same manner perhaps encounter a bonafide Korean in the course of their oriental travels, and henceforth be led to classify him as a biped of the genus homo rather than a quadruped of some mysterious creation.

"Literature is a kind of grab-bag in the minds of our college students. Thirteen per cent. thought of Darwin as a literary master and not a scientist, and fifteen per cent. thought of John Wesley as in the same category. The right contents of the bag have their colours mixed.

"We ought not to blame too harshly that ten per cent. who give Poe the credit for writing 'The Scarlet Letter,' or the four who attribute it to Kipling; for, after all, the title is suggestive of the temper of either rather than of a mild man like Hawthorne. Fifty-eight out of a hundred students do not read periodicals and newspapers enough to know Arthur Brisbane as a journalist, some forty-three preferring to classify him as a comic artist, actor, or athlete.

"When college students do not recognize the names or places of production of commonly advertised commodities, such as shoes, automobiles, tobaccos, typewriters, movie actresses, and the like, it is of concern chiefly to the advertising manager whose business it is to get such information across; but as a matter of protection to the repute of the few great ones of our generation why not periodically lead the college students through art-galleries, chambers of state, and halls of fame, so that none of them would be unfamiliar, say, with the name and work of Rodin, rather than have fifty-eight per cent. classify him as a painter, composer, or poet?

"Why not diamonds born in the bosom of the oyster? Why not indeed? It would be a far more poetic genesis than in the depths of a dirty dugout at Kimberly, at least, in the thought of one."

The excuse of the student is: "Our college work keeps us so busy that we have no time to read the newspapers and magazines." The college professor believes, however, that the fault begins further back than college days. Perhaps the magazine in the schools may be one solution.

THE SPICE OF LIFE

Political Approval.

"What is your opinion of relativity?"

"I approve of it," replied Senator Sorghum.

"Then you understand it thoroughly?"

"Friend, if I had always been required to understand thoroughly everything I approved of I should have transacted considerable less political business."—*Washington Star.*

The Short Cut.

An ambitious young man went to a University Professor and said "Sir, I desire a course of training which will fit me to become the Superintendent of a great railway system. How much will such a course cost, and how long will it take?"

"Young man," replied the professor, "such a course would cost you $20,000 and require 20 years of your time. But on the other hand, by spending $300 of your money and 3 months of your time you may be elected to congress. Once there you will feel yourself competent to direct not one but all the great railroad systems of our country."—*New York Evening Post.*

Ready and Willing.

Magistrate—"Can't this case be settled out of court?"

Mr. Hooligan—"Sure, sure, that's what we were trying to do, your honour, when the police interfered."

Warning to Dilatory Subscribers.

An editor wrote a subscriber, named Bill Jeffrey, advising him that his subscription had expired. A few days later the editor received his own letter, across the bottom of which was scrawled, "So's Bill."

Student Philosophy.

"Sedentary work," said the college lecturer, "tends to lessen the endurance."

—"In other words," butted in the smart student, "the more one sits, the less one can stand."

"Exactly," retorted the lecturer, "and if one lies a great deal one's standing is lost completely."

DISTINCTION.

Irate Professor.—"What! forgotten of your pencil again, Jones! What would you think of a soldier without a gun?"

Jones (an ex-service man).—"I'd think, he was an officer."—*The Brown Tug.*

DANGEROUS EXTREME.

Mr. Gordon Selfridge declares that a day is coming when the aristocracy will have to work. Our pessimism goes considerably further, we foresee a time when even the working classes will have to work.—*Punch.*

MENTAL ARITHMETIC.

"Now, then, Johnny," said his teacher, "if your father gave you seven cents and your mother gave you six and your uncle gave you four more, what would you have?"

Johnny wrinkled up his forehead and went into the silence for the space of several minutes.

"Come, come," said the teacher impatiently. "Surely, you can solve a simple little problem like that."

"It ain't a simple problem at all," replied the boy. "I can't make up my mind whether I'd have an ice-cream or go to the movies."—*New York Sun.*

STRONG ARGUMENT.

"Father, didn't you ever get licked when you were a boy?"

"Indeed, I did."

"Well then, what's the use trying it on me?"

ALMOST AS GOOD.

A Scotchwoman had had much trouble with her gardeners. She could not find one who was capable of keeping sober. She appealed to her brother, who promised to do his best to help her. At last he announced that he had found just the man she needed.

"I will only ask one question, James," said his sister. "Is he a tectotaler?"

"Well," said James deliberately. "He's no juist what ye'a ca'a tutotaler, but he's a mon ye canna fill"—*Los Angelos Times.*

THE HURRY-UP KIND.

At the post office a little girl deposited a pice in front of the clerk and said "Please, I forget the name of the stamp Mama told me to get, but it's the kind that makes the letter hurry up.

GRATITUDE.

"You did me a favour ten years ago," said the stranger, "and I have never forgotten it." "Ah," replied the good man with a grateful expression on his face, "and you have come back to repay me?" "Not exactly," replied the stranger, "I've just got into town and need another favour, and I thought of you right away."—*Detroit Free Press.*

Review

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE SILVER JUBILEE VOLUMES

This work, of which the first volume forms the subject of the present review, is intended to commemorate the Silver Jubilee of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's attaining the Degree of Doctor of Law of the University of Calcutta and is a fitting tribute of respect to that great man, as it bears evidence of patient scholarly research which it has been his avowed object to inaugurate and promote in the various departments of our Alma Mater.

The present volume, confined to Arts and Letters, and printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, contains 614 pages of Royal 8vo size, and furnishes a splendid instance of neat printing and excellent get-up. Two well-known sentences from Menander and Cicero, in praise of Learning very aptly form the motto of the work. The volume under notice traverses a wide field dealing with 27 subjects in all; the first of which is an article headed "*A Narrative of Bengal Transactions*" from the pen of Prof. J. N. Das Gupta, B.A., I.E.S. It is based on an English translation of a Persian Manuscript, compiled by Francis Gladwin in 1788, and contains among other things an account of some curious facts relating to the revolt of Shova Sing, a Zemindar of the District of Burdwan, against Aurangazeb. His death is a well-deserved tragedy, caused by the knife of a heroic and beautiful daughter of Kissen Ram, whose modesty the wicked rebel had attempted to outrage. She stabbed herself to death, and the writer of the article reflects in a few epitaph-like sentences on an event which showed "what brutality man is capable of and what strength resides in woman's weak breast." The paper contains much information in regard to the currency of newspapers during the period of Mogul administration. The next article from the pen of Dr. Sisirkumar Maitra bears the fascinating title of "*The Romantic Element in Mathematics.*" He tries to trace the æsthetic element in mathematics—"the strongest arsenal of rigid logic"—proving the attempts of the mathematicians at the reduction of numbers and also space to types of ordered series making the rhythm of symbols more complete than before. He also refers to the gradual elimination of all extraneous matter, such as the intuition of space or number. Mr. J. C. Coyajee, B.A., LL.B., I.E.S., contributes a paper on "*Characteristics of Ancient*

Indian Trade," and deals amongst other things with such questions as, the multiplicity of middle-men, efforts to open up direct trade, the monopolistic element in Indian trade, small size of the markets, "active" or "passive trade," abrupt and frequent fluctuations of trades-routes and State policy in the sphere of foreign trade. "*The Survival of old Hindu Institutions in Maharastra*" is a paper of unique value, as it shows from original sources how the administrative system of that country was reorganised by the founders of the Marhatta empire on the lines of ancient Hindu jurisprudence and what deviations were made to adapt the laws to the needs of the contemporary social and political life. It is a very important contribution as its writer Dr. Surendranath Sen has drawn his materials from old Marhatta documents and traversed a wide field of ancient Hindu laws for ascertaining their comparative value. In the paper of Mr. E. F. Oaten, LL.B., I.E.S., on "*Megiddo, a Study in Military History,*" the writer refers to the historical associations of the village Megiddo, where the earliest decisive battle on record in Syrian history was fought in 1479 B.C., and which, under its new name of El Lejjun, became the scene of a decisive operation between General Allenby and the Turks in October, 1918. Mr. Sasadhar Ray's article on the "*Origin of Language,*" is not only full of anthropological interest but incidentally strikes the keynote to Vaishnava Theology. It shows the important part which the sexual feeling has played on the origin of language. He has quoted the *Ratnakosh,* the *Namanidhan* and *Mukut* in support of the doctrine of the superiority of the *Adirasha.* The Vaishnavas look upon this *Rasa* from a spiritual plane and call it by three different names, the *Ujjala,* the *Madhura,* and the *Raganuga* as opposed to the *Baidhi* "*Some Features of Banking in India*" from the pen of Mr. Ramachandra Rau Basavarsu, M.A., L.T., will be of interest to a large number of educated men who are engaged in investigating into the economic conditions of India with a view to solving the problem of her poverty. "*Picogella Mirandola, an Italian Neo-platonist*" is the title of a paper by Mr. Mohinimohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., B.L. He discusses the various standards of beauty according to the ancients in connection with the views of the Italian neo-platonist. The article requires a supplementation from the Vaishnava works on Poetics in Bengal, as the subject has been exhaustively treated in them. Mr. Jitendraprasad Niyogi's article on "*Customs and Transit Duties in the Madras Presidency during early British Rule*" is a very erudite contribution to the literature of modern Political Economy. "*Politics in Islam*" by Mr. S. Khuda Buksh, M.A., B.C.L., is wonderfully rich in its resources and

tries to trace the dominant spiritual forces at work in the growth and gradual development of the Ottoman power. The range of the article and the interesting features of its topics require a thorough and exhaustive study, and our space is too short to attempt anything like a critical analysis of its contents. "*History of Indian Commerce*" by Mr. Jogischandra Sinha, M.A., deals with, amongst other things, such topics as trade between India and Java, carried on by the Dutch, chief imports of the trade between India and Holland, Danish trade with India, American and Portuguese trade, trade of the English East India Company, chief metals imported to India, prohibition of Indian silk manufactures and Charter Act of 1813. "*The Guild in Modern India*" by Dr. Radhakamal Mookerjee, is a short paper; but its quality should not be judged by quantity. It is a suggestive article showing the constitution and expansion of trade-guild in India. "*Kant's Ethical Theory*" by Dr. Hiralal Haldar puts stress upon what he considers to be the sum and substance of the doctrine of the distinguished philosopher that in serving society one serves one's ownself, for "the life of society is one's own higher life." This theory is essentially *Karmic* in its character as it treats of one's duty to one's fellow men. But there is a higher plane than any ever reached by mere ethics—the plane of beatitude and emotional felicities, where man may stand face to face with his Maker and become the dweller of an eternal region of perfect bliss. I suppose Dr. Haldar in advocating the ethical theory of Kant does not ignore the existence of this heaven of the Rishis of our Upanishads, which is akin to the *Nirvana* of the Buddhists and the *Samadhi* of the Yogis. Judging from the ethical standpoint this mystic delight of the soul is not an untenable factor in the religious field, for the very sight of one who has reached this stage, is a fountain of ethical good, that purges the soul of all dross of sin. "*Land Transport in Mediæval India*" by Mr. Bejoy Kumar Sarkar, A.B., is another important paper on economics and deals with carts and coaches, animal carriers, roads, bridges and rest-houses, nature and extent of land transport, internal security and many such important topics in respect of mediæval India. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, D.Phil., contributes a paper on "*Sankara and Prof. James Ward*," dealing with some curious and striking coincidences between the metaphysical doctrines of the great Indian and the theories of Dr. Ward in the domain of psychology. Capt. J. W. Petavel's article on "*Knowledge and Power*" is full of valuable suggestions as to how Indian children should be brought up and trained in industrial subjects. They are becoming book-worms, and he gives a programme for the development of

the more practical side of their intellect. Mr. Harimohan Bhattacharyya's "*Doctrine of Maya*" is curiously a defence of the old *Mayabad*, which declares that the whole of the empirical world is a huge illusion. The writer's advocacy of this philosophy, however cleverly-worded and supported by quotations from Herbert Spencer and even Socrates, will scarcely find any response from the sophists of this materialistic age. "*A Plea for an Individualisation of Punishment*" by Mr. Sitaram Banerjee, M.A., B.L., advocates rational modes of prevention of crimes on the lines of institutions like Dr. Barnardo's homes, temperance societies, drunkards' asylums and technical institutions. For repression he recommends not only reformatories as in Elmira, security for good behaviour, indemnity or reparation and fine, but even cruel measures like the death-penalty and the cellular system of imprisonment, not quite compatible perhaps with the sentiments of the cultured humanity of the modern times. Dr. N. N. Sengupta's paper "*On the Nature of Immediate Experience in the Light of Contemporary Epistemological Discussions*" gives a lucid exposition of the subject from various standpoints and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that the immediate experience is a non-relational manifold involving subject-object identities and is not subject to truth and error. "*The Chait Sing Tragedy*" by Mr. Nirmalchandra Chatterji, M.A., B.L., deals with all sides of the historical problem involved, in regard to the dealings of Warren Hastings with the Raja, and comes to the conclusion that the former was actuated by personal resentment and that the plea of financial distress is untenable in the case. The writer in this article has made use of some of the documents recently brought to light. One of the most fascinating and thoughtful of the contributions of this volume is "*Coleridge as a Thinker*," by H. Stephen, M.A., D.D. In this article the writer shows Coleridge as a poet and thinker from the background of contemporary poetical, critical and philosophical literature. Coleridge was a man of great religious susceptibilities. With the advent of the school founded by the Lake Poets, the old rigid lines of poetry faded away, giving place to the freedom of thought and new platonism of Schelling and Kant. The "mechanical philosophy" of critics like Jeffrey could not conceive the grandeur of the romantic mysticism of Wordsworth and Coleridge, and Dr. Stephen has shown that though Coleridge was not a voluminous writer like Southey, his works are characterised by a new interpretation of life and poetry, which has given them an abiding interest. "*The New Yellow Peril*" by Mr. B. Mookerji, M.A., discusses the question of foreign capital from an Indian point of view and expresses apprehensions in regard to complications that may

arise by the policy of Japan and a Pan-Asiatic League said to have been formed in that country. The writer, however, concludes with a pious hope of an amicable settlement in future. Mr. P. Seshadri, M.A., in his article "*Contemporary English Poetry*" shows a broad mind in appreciating Rudyard Kipling's poetry inspite of his "boisterous imperialism." The poet was born in Bombay and in some of his well-known verses he is proud of being born in a city

"Between the palms and the Sea
Where the worlds end steamers wait."

In this article the writer gives critical analysis of the poems of some of our modern British poets and amongst them of Yeats, "whose discriminating and enthusiastic praise of the *Gitanjali*" was the earliest tribute that Rabindranath received from the West; but while dealing with Edmund Gosse, Mr. P. Seshadri, M.A. omitted to mention that Miss Taru Datta's poems found appreciation in England owing to the introduction of that poet. Mr. Wordsworth's paper on "*Education and Reconstruction in England*" takes a bird's eye view of the educational condition prevailing in England ever since the devastations made over her academic institutions by the war and of the great efforts that are now being made not only for repairing ravages but for placing education on an improved basis. Dr. Stephen's paper on "*The Philosophy of Anarchy*" is characterised by that Christian spirit which we naturally expect from a missionary of solid character and sound culture of his type. He has discussed the views of "half-crazy fanatic Nietzsche" and of James and Bergson and exposed their destructive theories to ridicule by the acumen of his logic, enlivened by occasional flashes of humour. "*The Data of Regional Economics*" by Dr. Radhakamal Mookerjee is a solid article which shows his power to grasp the present international, inter-racial and inter-regional problems. The solution he suggests is true to his Indian culture and inculcates principles which essentially belong to a higher plane than ever reached by Marshall, Pigou, List and Roscher, in as much as the economical study of the Indian scholar claims the sound basis of a cosmopolitan sympathy and not preservation and advancement of racial interests. "*Imperial Federation*" by Mr. R. N. Gilchrist, M.A., I.E.S., is a long article in which the writer discusses the various positions held by colonial dependencies of England and that of India in particular. In the end we are recommended to rely on the political instincts of the British people who "have built up a flexible British constitution which has served their needs in fair times and foul." Let us say 'Amen!'

We have only given a bare idea of the contents of the present volume. To declare that it is rich in its topics is to say the least of its great merits. It shows that a new history of India is being built up with a complete change in the angle of our vision. Indian writers are now grasping Indian problems by dint of their own intellect, and will no longer like to be enlisted on the rolls of copyists, by merely endorsing the views of European scholars. Educated Indians are slowly rising to a consciousness of the part they are destined to play in the history of the world in future. And to the distinguished man, who has given the greatest stimulus to this intellectual awakening of his countrymen, nothing will, we believe, afford a greater satisfaction than the present work, which commemorates the Silver Jubilee of his attaining the degree of Doctor of Laws, for far greater than a personal memoir, far greater than any faithful account of his life-long pursuits, this work forcibly proves the result of his devoted labours in the interest of advancement of learning.

D. C. S.

The British Empire.—A Short History by J. P. Bulkeley, M.A. (Oxon.), with an introduction by Sir Charles Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1921).

This is an introduction to the history of the British Empire. It owes its publication to a suggestion contained in the report of a Committee appointed by the Government of Burma in 1916, to make recommendations for teaching the "Imperial Idea." Speaking of the origin of the British Empire the author says that it "grew for the most part fortuitously and without conscious design" (p. 200). In other words he is a believer in the "fit of absence of mind" theory of the growth of the British Empire—a theory which although well suited to propagate the "Imperial Idea" can hardly bear the cold and critical scrutiny of the historian. But perhaps we are not fair to the author. A glance through the author's preface would explain why he ventured on a generalisation of this kind. "I have ventured," says Mr. Bulkeley, "on a number of historical generalisations *though I know they must be always more or less erroneous* (the italics are ours) because in my experience nothing is more stimulating and useful even to young students of history." Let "the young students of history" beware! Much of what has been written in the chapter on Modern Imperialism is vitiated by the biassed outlook which the author adopts. Just to take one instance. The German imperial system is said to have exercised

a baneful influence on others. "The Belgians imitated it in their Congo territories. Even in British South Africa it probably did a good deal to render the relations between black and white races more difficult." But the author forgets that Germany has enough misdeeds of her own to answer for and that it is hardly fair to call upon her to shoulder the responsibility for everything that goes wrong under the sun.

Without confining himself to the main object in hand which is to trace the history of the growth of the British Empire, the author rambles into the field of Economics and disposes of in onee short paragraph, the comparative merits of Free Trade and Protection as applied to India. Amongst other things we are told (p. 202) that Free Trade in India has injured English manufactures but benefited other manufacturing nations (especially Germany and Japan). But the statistics available to us tell quite a different tale. Taking the pre-war average figures for 1909-10 to 1913-14 we find that the share of the United Kingdom in the import trade of India was 63 per cent., that of other parts of the British Empire 7 per cent., of Japan only 2 per cent., of the United States 3 per cent., of England's other allies in the last war 6 per cent., of Java 6 per cent. All other countries (including Germany) shared between them only 13 per cent. of the total import trade. These figures hardly afford any indication of injury to British manufactures. The naive simplicity of the author is almost astounding.

It would be ungracious not to add that the author deals with the expansion of the British dominions in Canada, Australia and South Africa in a promising manner. The growth of representative and responsible government in these countries is well brought out. On the whole a considerable amount of historical matter has been rendered available in a useful form.

J. P. N.

Sher Shah.—*A critical study based on original sources*: by Kalikaranjan Qanungo, M.A. (Kar, Majumdar and Co., 1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5).

One curious fact which strikes the student of Indian History is the paucity of works dealing with Mediæval India. The pre-Muhammadan period has attracted the attention of a considerable number of our research students and very fair amount of work has been done in that field. But very few of our students have taken the trouble to study Islamic India—not that the materials are lacking. Perhaps it might be due to the fact

that very few of our graduates know sufficiently well Persian to venture on a critical study of that period. English translations of the Persian historians, however well-reputed, as Mr. Qanungo warns us, are not to be relied upon. So it is with considerable pleasure that we read this critical study of a little known Afghan ruler.

The author seems to have read and studied with care the various Persian authorities, both Afghan and non-Afghan, dealing with this period. He has also rummaged the Portuguese accounts to obtain interesting sidelights regarding Sher Shah's career in Bengal. It is rather surprising that Mr. Qanungo did not think it worth while to consult the Rajput chronicles about Sher Shah's campaign in Rajputana. The historical value of some of these chronicles may be disputed; but after all they are our only sources of information about the Rajputs. The omission is all the more striking, as he regards Tod's *Rajasthan*, "too legendary for historical purposes." To write an account of Sher Shah's war against Rao Maldev of Marwar from only the Persian authorities without supplementing the information from Rajput sources impairs to some extent the historical value of the author's work in these sections which are perhaps the best part of this book. It is rather curious that one of the Rajput chronicles accuses Sher Shah of destroying Hindu temples and building mosques in their place.

We may also point out another serious defect in Mr. Qanungo's work and that is the total absence of maps in his book. More than half of his work deals with the various campaigns of Sher Shah against Humayun, against Maldev and other turbulent chiefs. The author is always particular to describe in detail the many battles which the Afghan ruler fought and rightly devotes much attention to the strategy adopted by his hero. But it is extremely difficult for the reader to follow the campaigns, as there are no maps provided; the omission is all the more regrettable, as most of the places mentioned are not to be found in the ordinary maps of India Without maps, even the most brilliant campaign becomes a mere string of unfamiliar names. Half a dozen sketch maps would have increased appreciably the value of this work. We trust this defect will be remedied in subsequent editions.

But these omissions need not detract from the uniformly high standard of Mr. Qanungo's work. Like every good biographer, our author is a hero-worshipper; and there may be many who may not be willing to subscribe to everything that he says of Sher Shah. But we must admit that he makes out a very strong case for the Afghan. What

strikes us most in the career of this ruler is the prodigious and versatile energy displayed by him. He reigned for barely five years as the Emperor of Hindustan. Yet in this short period he had to contend against the probable return of Humayun to India; to fight with Maldev of Marwar, then at the zenith of his power; to conquer the outlying provinces of India; and to chastise disobedient governors. Sher Shah accomplished all these tasks successfully. This work was more than enough to fill the space of sixty months for even a ruler of more than average ability.

But he accomplished something infinitely more important. He found country in anarchy, but left it endowed with a sound administrative system upon which the British system is founded. His revenue system has survived in all its essential features to the present day under the name of *rayatwari system*; while his system of currency is the basis of the modern British currency. He introduced a sound tariff-system, built magnificent roads with rest-houses provided with Brahmans for the convenience of Hindu travellers. He was far superior to an average conqueror; civilisation followed the track of his armies. As Mr. Qanungo aptly says, "the land survey, construction of roads and establishment of mint towns seems to follow almost in the wake of his conquering armies." Our admiration increases all the more when we remember that unlike Akbar, the Afghan ruler had not the good fortune to have first rate ministers like Todar Mall and Abul-Fazal to plan and carry out brilliant schemes. All this magnificent work was planned and carried out by the one master mind at the top with only raw officials to help him. When we take into account the fact that this task was performed amidst the distraction of continuous warfare, we cannot but be struck with the pre eminent genius of Sher Shah. Well might he have exclaimed like Augustus, he found India bricks, and he left it marble!

We can very well say that at last the forgotten Afghan ruler has come into his own and this is entirely due to Mr. Qanungo's efforts. May we suggest to Mr. Qanungo that in his later editions he may see his way to continue his narrative right up to the fall of the Sur Dynasty; so as to complete one very interesting interlude in Indian History. At any rate, we hope to have not ere long the pleasure of reading further studies on Islamic India from Mr. Qanungo's pen.

Y. J. T.

The British Trade Review, July, 1921, London.—This is mainly an advertising organ for pushing the British export trade in foreign countries but it contains a few interesting, though rather scrappy,

articles on current economic and financial questions. The leading article of the July number is on the settlement of the last coal strike in England. The second article which discusses the question of the recent slump in the British shipping trade, shows how the revival of this trade is dependent on the reduction of the price of coal and on the resumption of its exports. An account of the Cotton Conference held in Liverpool and Manchester in June last forms the subject of the next article. The problems of German reparation and of the British indebtedness to America, the defects of the Government Export Credit and of the Ter Meulen schemes are discussed in two other articles. There is also an interesting account of the rapid " industrialisation " and " Europeanisation " of Japan during the last World War. Besides these, which are likely to prove interesting to the general reader, the Review contains up-to-date information on business conditions in the different parts of the United Kingdom and in the leading western countries. Our importing merchants will find in this Review accurate information about the present condition of British industries and trade which is not always easily available in India.

J. C. S.

Acknowledged with thanks—*Quarterly Review* (July), the *Hindustan Review* (August and September), the *Labour Leader* (weekly), and various Government publications.

Ourselves

H. R. H. the Prince of Wales & Honorary Degrees

Now that it has been definitelv settled that H. R. H. the Prince of Wales will visit these shores next cold weather, it behoves every Indian subject of His Royal Highness to offer him a cordial welcome.

It is indeed gratifying to learn that the authorities of the Calcutta University have decided to honour themselves by conferring the Degree of Doctor of Law on the Prince of Wales. It may be in the recollection of our readers that the Degree of Doctor of Law was conferred on H. R. H. Albert Edward (afterwards King Edward VII) when he visited Calcutta in 1876. Similarly in 1906, His Imperial Majesty King George V (then Prince of Wales) was honoured with the Degree of Doctor of Law when he came to Calcutta. It is but meet therefore, that the University should hasten to offer its cordial welcome to the heir-apparent to the throne. The proud privilege enjoyed by the University of Calcutta as the Imperial University though no longer retained, she may yet justly be proud of holding a unique position as the first teaching and research University in India and therefore, it is in the fitness of things that the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Senate have decided to celebrate H. R. H. Prince of Wales's visit to the Calcutta University by conferring Honorary Degrees on other eminent scholars in India, who have either themselves extended, or have helped the extension of, the bounds of knowledge.

The following gentlemen are proposed to be honoured by the Degrees stated against their names :—

1.	H. R. H. the Prince of Wales	... D.L.
2.	H. E. the Earl of Reading	... D.L.
3.	H. E. Lord Ronaldshay	... D.Litt.

4.	Mrs. Sarojini Naidu	...	D.Litt.
5.	The Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali	...	D.L.
6.	Prof. Arthur Macdonell	...	D.O.L.
7.	Prof. William A. Craigie	...	D.Litt.
8.	Sir M. Visvesvaraya	...	D.Sc. (Eng.)
9.	Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya	...	D.L.
10.	Dr. Brajendranath Seal	...	D.Sc.
11.	The Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye	...	D.Sc.
12.	Dr. Gilbert Thomas Walker	...	D.Sc.
13.	Sir John Hubert Marshall	...	Ph.D.
14.	Mr. R. Shama Sastri	...	Ph.D.
15.	Prof. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyengar	...	Ph.D.
16.	Prof. Henry Stephen	...	Ph.D.
17.	Prof. C. E. Cullis	...	D.Sc.
18.	Rai Saheb Dineschandra Sen	...	D.Litt.
19.	Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar	...	Ph.D.
20.	Prof. C. V. Raman	...	D.Sc.
21.	Prof. Abanindranath Tagore	...	D.Litt.

The list looks all-comprehensive and none of the recipients requires an introduction to the educated public and the University men. It is a matter of deep satisfaction that the University authorities have been able to muster sufficient courage to disregard political opinions and confer degrees on persons whose politics are not of the approved type. Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Sir M. Visvesvaraya though the finest specimens of Indian intellect are persons who at some time or other have trodden forbidden ground. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has conclusively proved what a talented Indian woman can do and a Degree conferred on her will be a fitting epilogue to the three days' drama which was enacted on the stage of the Bengal Legislative Council over the question of women suffrage.

The Degrees proposed on the present Viceroy and our Chancellor are not mere royalties but warm tributes to the services of deeply erudite scholars in the domain of thought.

Prof. Macdonell and Craigie are coming out to India, the one as the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer and the other as a Reader to the University, and the University has wisely decided to mark its appreciation of their scholarship by conferring Honorary Degrees on them. The Degree of D.O.L. proposed to be conferred on Prof. Macdonnell is the first degree of its kind in Calcutta; though Calcutta does not move within narrow grooves and the University conferred the degree of D.Litt. on some eminent scholars before. The fact is that under the Act the University is quite competent to confer *any* Honorary Degree although Degrees on Examinations are strictly bound by the Regulations.

The self-sacrifice of Mr. Paranjpye is closely associated with his brilliant academic record as the Senior Wrangler of his year—Mr. Paranjpye who served the Fergusson College, Poona, on a pittance of Rs. 75 per month. A Minister under the Reforms Act now, Mr. Paranjpye "still lives rich on forty pounds a year" and devotes the major part of his income to the cause of the Servant of India Society.

The names of Dr. Gilbert Walker and Sir John Marshall are so well known in the domain of scholarship that they do not require any commendation. Sir John Marshall with his enthusiasm for everything Indian and with a special fondness for Indian scholarship, has all along been a true friend of ours and he has always striven to advance the cause of research in this University.

* * *

Dr. Brajendranath Seal, Dr. Henry Stephen, Dr. C. E. Cullis, Mr. Dineschandra Sen, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, Prof. C. V. Raman and Prof. Abanindranath Tagore are all our own men and no word of praise is required from us. Dr. Seal is the first Professor Vice-Chancellor of an Indian University in one of the most advanced Native States in India and it was with great pang that the University of Calcutta agreed to part

with him. Dr. Henry Stephen has imparted education to almost three generations of Indians and his whole life is one long tale of self-sacrifice and selfless devotion to duty. He is held in affectionate remembrance by his numerous pupils and is held in high esteem by the true academic workers as one of the sincerest and the truest teachers of men in the world.

Dr. C. E. Cullis, an eminent Mathematician, has kept up his great reputation from the close of his college days as a Smith Prizeman and by his researches has writ himself and our University large on 20th century Mathematical research. It is with mingled feeling of joy and pride that we see Mr. Dineschandra Sen coming up for the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature. Literary men who follow the peaceful avocation of their lives quietly are not appreciated in our country, specially if they happen to be "School masters" and we confidently trust Mr. Sen will survive the attacks of his detractors. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar had already carved for himself a secure position in Indology by his numerous contributions, whether as editor of the Indian Antiquary or as one of the most successful Archæological officers in India, before he joined us. His great service to the University and one of which all Bengal should be proud, is the definite establishment of a school of Ancient Indian History and Culture in Calcutta. He has sacrificed higher prospects in the department of Archæological Survey to the call of higher academic work and has trodden in the footsteps of his distinguished father, as the inheritor of his genius and of his renown. Prof. C. V. Raman's researches are widely known to eminent physicists and his life has been full of self-sacrifice. Prof. Raman gave up the alluring prospects of the Indian Finance Department to devote his life to study and research in that region which knows no distinction between the living and the dead, between the known and the unknown, and his researches on Acoustics and Light have already won

for him recognition as one of the greatest physicists of the day. Prof. Abanindranath Tagore's Degree is worthy of note, not only because it reminds us that very recently for the first time a Chair in Indian Fine Arts has been established in an Indian University but also because it is a definite academic recognition of the rejuvenation of art in Bengal. Prof. Tagore's artistic powers are well known and as the father of a national school of Painting he has become a page of history. We hope the foundation of the Chair and the conferment of the Degree should help to rouse even the stolid imagination of our countrymen who have long forgotten the artistic glories of ancient and mediæval India.

We have reserved the name of Mr. R. Shama Sastri last. He is one of those persons in the world whose work is exploited by all, but whose worth is very slow to be recognised by his countrymen. The discovery of the manuscript of Arthasastra after a slumber of centuries and its translation by this indigenous scholar, are achievements of which any other nation in the world would have been proud and it is but a bare recognition of the supreme importance of his work and the stupendous nature of his task that our Vice-Chancellor has decided to confer on him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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We set out below the brief statements of the careers of the recipients of the Honorary Degrees which were laid before the Syndicate and the Senate:—

THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR RUFUS DANIEL ISAACS, EARL OF READING, P.C., K.C., G.C.B., K.C.V.O., VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

Solicitor-General, 1910; Attorney-General, 1910-1913; Lord Chief Justice of England, 1913-1921; President, Anglo-French Loan Mission to U. S. A., 1915; Special Envoy to U. S. A., 1917; High Commissioner and Special Ambassador to U. S. A., 1918.

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LAWRENCE JOHN LUMLEY DUNDAS, EARL OF RONALDSHAY, G.C.I.E., GOVERNOR OF BENGAL AND CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Author of "Sport and Politics under an Eastern Sky," "On the Outskirts of the Empire in Asia," "A Wandering Student in the Far East," "An Eastern Miscellany."

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU.

Poetess, Authoress of "The Golden Threshold" with a preface by Arthur Symons; "the Bird of Time" with a preface by Edmund Gosse; "The Broken Wing"; numerous stories and articles in Indian journals. Her poems have been translated into the chief Indian Vernaculars and into several other European languages and also set to music.

THE RIGHT HON'BLE SYED AMEER ALI.

C.I.E., M.A., B.L. (Calcutta), LL.D. (Cantab.); Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council since 1909; Tagore Law Professor, 1884; President of the Faculty of Law, 1891-93; Judge, High Court, Calcutta, 1890-1904; Author of "Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohamad," "Spirit of Islam," "Ethics of Islam," "History of the Saracens," "Personal Law of the Muhammadans," "Muhammadan Law."

PROFESSOR ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL.

M.A., Ph.D., Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford; Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer on Comparative Religion; Keeper of the Indian Institute; Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford; Fellow of the British Academy; Fellow of the Royal Danish Academy; Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society; Campbell Memorial Gold Medallist of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay; Author or Editor of *Sarvanukramani* of the Rigveda by Katyayana (Anecdota Oxoniensia); A Sanskrit Grammar; A Sanskrit-English Dictionary; Vedic Mythology; History of Sanskrit Literature; New Sanskrit Grammar; The *Brihad-devata* (Harvard Oriental Series); Vedic Grammar; Vedic Index of Names and Subjects; Vedic Grammar for Students; Vedic Reader.

PROFESSOR WILLIAM A. CRAIGIE.

M.A. (St. Andrews and Oxon.), LL.D. (St. Andrews), Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford; Joint-Editor of the Oxford English Dictionary; Author of various articles

on Scottish, Gaelic and Scandinavian subjects in the Scottish Review, Anglia and Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi; Author or Editor of Primer of Burns; Works of Burns; Bellenden's Scottish Translation of Livy; Religion of Ancient Scandinavia; Icelandic Ballads on the Gowrie Conspiracy; Icelandic Sagas; the Pronunciation of English; and the Maitland Folio Manuscripts.

SIR MOKSHAGUNDUM VISVESVARAYA.

K.C.I.E., B.A., L.C.E., M.I.C.E.; Bombay Public Works Department, 1884-1908, when he retired as Superintending Engineer; designed and constructed a system of automatic gates, patented by him at Lake Fife near Poona between 1901 and 1903; prepared in 1903 proposals for a new scheme of Irrigation in the Deccan called the Block System; Special Consulting Engineer to H. E. H. the Nizam's Government in connection with Flood Prevention and Drainage of Hyderabad City, 1909; Chief Engineer and Secretary, Public Works and Railway Departments, Government of Mysore, 1909; Dewan of Mysore, 1912-19; planned and constructed the dam on the river Musi at Hyderabad and also on the river Kaveri, at Kanumbari, Mysore.

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.

B.A. (Calcutta), LL.B. (Allahabad); Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University; eminent for his services in the cause of the foundation and development of the first non-official University in British India.

DR. BRAJENDRANATH SEAL.

M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University; Principal of the Berhampore College (1887-1896); Principal of the Victoria College, Cooch-Behar (1896-1914); King George V Professor of Philosophy (1914-20); Author of "Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus"; "Comparative Studies in Vaishnavism and Christianity"; "The Historic Comparative Method"; "The Mechanical, Physical and Chemical theories of the ancient Hindus"; "The Hindus as Founders of the Science of Mythology" and "Test of Truth" (read before the Oriental Congress at Rome); "Race-Origins, or fundamental considerations touching the physical basis of race"; "Opening Address before the Universal Races Congress"; "Theory of Numbers"; "Equation of Digits"; "The Neo-Romantic movement in Literature"; "Keats: Mind and Art."

THE HON'BLE MR. RAGHUNATH PURUSHOTTAM PARANJPYE.

B.A. (Bombay), M.A. (Cantab.), Senior Wrangler, 1899; Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; Professor of Mathematics, and later Principal, Fergusson College, Poona, 1902-20; Fellow of the Cambay University and Vice-Chancellor of the Indian Women's University.

DR. GILBERT THOMAS WALKER.

C.S.I., M.A. (Cantab.), Sc.D. (Cantab.), F.R.S., Senior Wrangler, 1889; Fellow and Mathematical Lecturer, Trinity College, Cambridge; Adams Prize, 1899, for Essay on Aberration and Problems connected with the Electromagnetic field; Readership Lectures on "The Theory of Electro-Magnetism" (Calcutta University, 1908); Director General of Indian Observatories, since 1904.

SIR JOHN HUBERT MARSHALL.

Kt., C.I.E., M.A., D.Litt. (Cantab)., F.S.A., Hon. A.R.I.B.A., Director-General of Archæology since 1902; Porson Prize, 1898; Prendergast Greek student, 1900; made journeys of exploration in Greek lands; has devoted himself to the systematic conservation and preservation of ancient Indian monuments, especially those at Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Mandu, and to the scientific exploration and excavation of sites of Ancient Indian Civilization, such as, Saranath, Bhita, Sanchi and Taxila.; Editor of the Reports (Imperial Series), Annual Reports, Memoirs and other publications of the Archæological Survey of India, many of which contain his own contributions to the advancement of knowledge of Indian Archæology.

MR. R. SHAMA SHASTRI.

B.A., Principal, Chamarajendra Sanskrit College, Bangalore; Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore; he deciphered the manuscript and published the *edito princeps* of the "Artha Shastra" of Kautilya (1908-19) and made the first English version thereof. Author of "Indian Polity during the Vedic and Buddhistic Periods" (Calcutta University Readership Lectures); Author of original contributions to Indian History and Antiquities published in the "Indian Antiquary" and other Journals.

PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMY AIYENGER.

M.A. (Madras); Professor of Indian History and Archæology in the University of Madras; sometime Professor of the Mysore University; Author of "Ancient India," "Beginnings of South Indian History,"

"South India and Her Mohammadan Invaders," "Sources of Vijaynagar History," "The contribution of Southern India to Culture and Civilization in Ancient and Mediæval Times" (Calcutta University Readership Lectures), "History of the Hindu Empire of Vijaynagar."

PROFESSOR HENRY STEPHEN.

M.A. (Classics and Philosophy), Aberdeen, 1870; Hutton Prize; D. D. (Aberdeen) 1914; University Professor of English since 1914; University Assistant in Greek, Aberdeen. Professor of English, Philosophy and Botany in the Free Church Institution, Calcutta (later on called the F. C. of Scotland Institution and Duff College) 1882-1914; Author of "Elements of Analytical Psychology," "Problem of Metaphysics," "Ethics" and "Logic" and papers on "Coleridge" and "Bergson's Philosophy."

PROFESSOR CUTHBERT EDMUND CULLIS.

M.A. (Cantab.), Ph.D. (Jena), Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics since 1917; late Professor of Mathematics in the Presidency College, Calcutta; formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius Colleges, Cambridge; Calcutta University Reader on "Determinoids," 1910; Author of "Matrices and Determinoids," two volumes of which have been published; "Chapters on Algebra."

RAI SAHEB DINESHCHANDRA SEN.

B.A., Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellow since 1913; awarded, in 1899, Literary Pension by the Secretary of State in recognition of his original researches in the History of Language and Literature of Bengal; Author of "*Banga-bhasa-o-Shahitya*" (1896); "History of the Bengali Language and Literature from the earliest times down to the middle of the nineteenth century" (Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1909); "Vaisnab Literature in Mediæval Bengal" (Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1913); "Typical Selections from Bengali Literature," 1913; "Chaitanya and his Companions"; "The Bengali Ramayana"; "Folk Literature of Bengal"; "Chaitanya and His Age"; "Forces that developed our Early Literature"; "Miscellanies"; "Bengali Prose Style, 1800-57"; "*Rāmayani Kathā*"; "*Grihasri*" and numerous other works in Bengali.

PROFESSOR DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR.

M.A. (Bombay); Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture since 1917; Bhagwanlal Indraji Lecturer on Indian Epigraphy, Antiquities and Archæology in the Bombay University, 1903 and 1917.

awarded the Sir James Campbell Gold Medal by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1911; Joint Editor of the Indian Antiquary; Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle, 1911-17; Officer-in-Charge of the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum, 1917-20; Author of "Ancient Indian Numismatics" and "Ancient History of India, 650-325 B. C." (Carmichael Lectures). Author of numerous original papers on Ancient Indian History and Antiquities published in the Indian Antiquary, the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, the Epigraphica Indica; the Archæological Annual; the Hyderabad Archæological Series.

PROFESSOR CHANDRASEKHARA VENKATA RAMAN.

M.A. (Madras); Sir Taraknath Palit Professor of Physics in the University College of Science since 1917; was an officer in the Indian Finance Department; was awarded in 1913 the Maharaja of Trivandrum Curzon prize for Research by the University of Madras; his investigations on the Theory of Vibrations and Optics have attracted considerable notice among European physicists; Author of numerous original papers published in the Philosophical Magazine, the Physical Review, the Nature, the Journal of the Indian Mathematical Society, the Bulletin and the Proceedings of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, the Proceedings of the Royal Society and the Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society.

PROFESSOR ABANINDRANATH TAGORE.

C.I.E.; Bageswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts; Vice-Principal and sometime Officiating Principal, Government School of Art, 1905-1920; Leader of the movement of revival of the School of Indian Art; Author of "*Alpona*" (ritual decoration of Bengal); "Art Anatomy"; "Six Limbs of Indian Painting"; has illustrated in colour "*Omar Khayyam*," Rabindranath Tagore's "Crescent Moon" and Sister Nivedita's "Myths and Legends of India"; painted numerous pictures exhibited at Delhi, Simla, Bombay, Calcutta, London, Paris, Tokyo, Boston and New York.

Our readers will no doubt be interested to read the following observations of the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor when he put the proposals for Honorary Degrees before the Senate, on the 24th September:—

This Special meeting has been convened for the consideration of two recommendations made by the Syndicate. The first recommendation is that

the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law be conferred upon His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The second recommendation is that in commemoration of the visit of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Honorary Degrees be conferred upon twenty eminent individuals, who have distinguished themselves by their services to the cause of the advancement of learning.

I take it, you will not expect me on this occasion to address you at length in justification of these recommendations. It would be improper to assume that the Senate of this University requires to be convinced by arguments that we should accord a most enthusiastic welcome to the Heir Apparent to the British Throne. It was on the 3rd January 1876 that in this very Hall the Senate assembled to confer the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law upon His Royal Highness Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, [illegible]n of our late beloved sovereign of revered memory, Queen Victoria. [illegible]irty years later, on the 5th January 1906, the Senate assembled again in this very Hall to confer the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law upon His Royal Highness George Frederic Ernest Albert, Prince of Wales, son of our late beloved sovereign, His Most Gracious Majesty Edward VII. If, consequently, precedent were needed for our proposed action on the occasion, I could fortify myself by the example of Sir Arthur Hobhouse and Sir Alexander Pedlar and furnish a fresh illustration that custom rules in the East. We have, as it were, established what may not inappropriately be called a hereditary connection with the Royal House and our right to inscribe the names of successive Princes of Wales on our roll of Honorary Graduates may be said to have been perfected and made indefeasible by prescription. To me personally, the proposal to confer an Honorary Degree on His Royal Highness appeals in a special manner. On the occasion when the Honorary Degree was conferred on the Prince of Wales in 1876, the distinguished graduates of the University were invited to witness the ceremony. One of the earliest of these graduates, a favourite pupil of the then Registrar, Principal Sutcliffe, was permitted as an act of special favour to bring his little boy into the Senate House to have a glimpse of the Prince of Wales. The tumultuous acclamation which greeted the Prince as he entered the Hall made an everlasting impression on the mind of the boy. Thirty years later, the boy had developed into a member of the Provisional Syndicate and recorded his concurrence in a proposal to confer an Honorary Degree on the second Prince of Wales. Six years later, this very Syndic as Vice-Chancellor of this University and as the spokesman of the Senate

had the high privilege to present a loyal and dutiful address to His Most Gracious Sovereign. By a singular turn of events, he now stands before you to invite you to accept a proposal to confer an Honorary Degree on the third Prince of Wales.

The second recommendation of the Syndicate is to the effect that we should commemorate the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales by conferring Honorary Degrees on persons distinguished for eminent position and attainments. It may be stated at the outset, that these Degrees will not be conferred at the same Convocation at which the Degree will be conferred on His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales. As on previous occasions, so in the present instance, there will be a Special Convocation for His Royal Highness. Indeed, if we go back to 1876, we shall find that Honorary Degrees were conferred upon Professor Monier Williams, Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjee and Babu Rajendra Lal Mitra at a separate Convocation.

I do not propose to dwell individually on the qualifications of the distinguished persons whose names have been approved by the Syndicate and, I may add, informally approved by His Excellency the Chancellor to whom your recommendations will be submitted officially, in due course, for confirmation, in accordance with the provisions of section 17 of the Indian Universities Act. But I may be permitted to state generally that, as on previous occasions, we have taken as the guiding principle the value of the service rendered by the recipient to the cause of the advancement of learning and culture in the most comprehensive sense. The brief statements amply indicate that we have faithfully adhered to this determining factor. You will find in the list, names of individuals, who have helped in a striking manner to expound and develop those eternal principles of justice, which are common to the East and West. You will find the names of a galaxy of scholars of world-wide fame, who have devoted their lives to the investigation and exposition of Indian civilization and culture. The field is boundless and our list includes workers who have been fascinated by the problems of Indian Religion, Indian Philosophy, Indian Science, Indian Polity, Indian Philology, Indian Architecture, Indian Numismatics, Indian Race Problems, Indian Folk-Lore, and last but not least, the history of our mother-tongue. You will find in the list, the names of distinguished exponents of Literature and Philosophy, of Fine Arts and Poetry, whose eminence in their respective spheres will be ungrudgingly acknowledged in all seats of learning. You will find, again, in the list the names of distinguished scholars who occupy the foremost

rank amongst original investigators by reason of their successful exploration of the mysteries of the physical world. We shall show our appreciation of the work of the profound scholar, who has devoted himself to the solution of the most abstruse problems in the highest regions of Mathematics. We are equally ready to recognize the unsurpassed skill of the Engineer, who has erected stupendous works to control and utilise the agencies of nature for purposes of irrigation and improvement of agriculture. You will find also the names of illustrious persons who have toiled in the field of education with magnificent sacrifice and devotion; they have helped in the creation and development of educational institutions of the highest type and their careers have ennobled the entire Indian people.

I confidently maintain that we have not departed from the high ideal that " Search after Truth is the noblest occupation of Man," and we have not allowed our judgment to be affected by considerations of office, race, colour, creed, or of dogmas, social, religious or political.

Universities Congress at Oxford.

The International Congress of Universities within the British Empire, held its sittings at Oxford on four successive days beginning from 5th July, 1921, under the presidentship of Lord Curzon, the Chancellor of the Oxford University. Our University sent up nine representatives in all to the Conference including Sir Nilratan Sarkar, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Amir Ali, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari, Mr. Herambachandra Maitra, Mr. J. N. Dasgupta, Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee, Mr. C. V. Raman and Dr. W. S. Urquhart. The list was representative and included all possible educational interests, private enterprise and missionary zeal, Government institutions and the Central organisation in the University itself.

Lord Curzon traced the development of the interests in education even at a time when the scars of war had not yet been healed up and dovelike peace had only just returned to England's shore. "A new voice is calling aloud," said his Lordship, "in every land and a passionate desire is being expressed by countries, provinces, communities, cities, races, creeds, to

possess Universities of their own, appealing to civic, or national, or sometimes religious patriotism, and satisfying local or professional or sectional needs."

"The world-mind," continued his Lordship, "is no longer content to be iron-bound by traditions, it seeks fiercely new outlets and fresh expression and it is finding them in the pursuit of knowledge and in the eager training of the intellectual faculties of man." Now that Honorary degrees are being conferred on eminent men and women, our Vice-Chancellor and the Senate would be well-advised to confer an Honorary degree on our erstwhile Chancellor whose purple robes still adorn the walls of the Senate House, if only His Lordship would come back to the scene of his glory and renown, if only His Lordship would give up for a short while his "trepidation and anxiety to find political solutions for largely insoluble problems which he sees on the international chess-board from day to day." A grateful India will then exclaim, *Nunc Dimittas!*

* * *

Kaviraj J. B. Ray and the Faculty of Medicine.

So our friend Kaviraj Jaminibhusan Ray has won his non-conformist fight against the orthodoxy of the Faculty of Medicine. The Faculty of Medicine during the regime of the most renowned of our Bengali Physicians, declined to associate themselves with Kaviraj Jaminibhusan Ray in their deliberations. The resolution passed by the Faculty ran thus:—

(1) That, in consequence of the addition of Kaviraj Jaminibhushan Ray's name to the Faculty of Medicine by the Senate at their annual meeting held on the 29th January, 1921, the Faculty regret exceedingly that they are compelled to point out to the Syndicate that they are unable to associate themselves as a Faculty of Medicine with a Member who professes and practises Ayurvedic system of Medicine, an inability of which probably the Senate did not fully appreciate when the election was made.

(2) That a copy of the above resolution with the following note be sent to the various Medical Governing Bodies in Great Britain and Ireland for a ruling as to how the election, stated above, affects the Members of the Faculty—

The Faculty are bound, in justice to Kaviraj Jaminibhushan Ray, to state that he is a Master of Arts and a Bachelor of Medicine of this University, but they are also bound to inform the various Medical Governing Bodies that Mr. Ray declares himself as a Kaviraj practising the Ayurvedic system of Medicine.

It may not be in the recollection of the present generation that on the 15th May, 1878, the Faculty of Medicine unanimously passed a similar resolution—

"In consequence of the addition of Dr. Mahendralal Sarcar's name to the Faculty of Medicine by a resolution of the Senate passed at their meeting on the 27th April, the Faculty regret exceedingly that they are compelled to point out to the Syndicate that they are unable to associate themselves as a Faculty of Medicine with a Member who professes and practises Homœopathy, an inability of which probably the Senate were not aware when the nomination was made; they trust, therefore, that the Syndicate may be able to remove the present difficulty by the transfer of Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar's name to another Faculty, or in some other manner."

Imitation, they say, is the sincerest form of flattery; the prologues resembled, the epilogues were somewhat different—the difference is between Sir William Markby and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee; the latter made a reference to the General Medical Council in London which elicited a reply by no means unfavourable to the Kaviraj, with the result that the Faculty, as befitted a body of honourable gentlemen, summoned courage to rescind their previous resolution. All's well that ends well. Kaviraj Jaminibhushan's only consolation is that he feels with the 'mighty dead.'

तदेव युक्तं भैषज्यं यदारोग्याय कल्पते।
स चैव भिषजां श्रेष्ठो रोगेभ्यो यः प्रमोचयेत्॥

चरकसंहिता।

"That alone is the right medicine which can remove disease;
He alone is the true physician who can restore health."—
Charak Samhita.

Thanks to Sanat Kumar Mookerjee.

The sincerest thanks of every well-wisher of the University are due to Mr. S. K. Mookerjee of the Executive Service for his gift of the valuable collection of manuscripts in Bengali, Sanskrit and Oriya to us. Some of these manuscripts are very old; the dates generally vary from the 10th Century B.E. to within 50 years of the present time. The major portion of these MSS. was collected from the Bishnupur Subdivision of Bankura District, where deep buried lie the past glories of mediæval Bengal.

Our Post-Graduate Lecturers.

A hero is never recognised by his valet; indigenous scholarship is not generally appreciated by people with slavish instincts, and our work and worth are measured by the praise the scholars receive from the free citizens of the West. Let us then quote the appreciation of the work of some of our scholars in the Post-Graduate Department "lest we forget."

So says the "Nature" of July, 1921:

"The University of Calcutta has published, as the first of its series of anthropological papers, an essay by Mr. Panchanan Mitra on the prehistoric arts and crafts of India. Beginning with stone implements, Mr. Mitra traces their development in the Palæolithic and Neolithic types. Then follows a chapter on cave paintings and carvings, containing much information which will be novel to English readers. These are held to indicate an Indo-Australian culture-contact from the late Palæolithic up to Neolithic times. On the general question of prehistoric arts and crafts, the author accepts the view of Dr. Coomarswamy that "to this Mykenean facies belong all the implements of wood-work, weaving, metal-work, pottery, etc., together with a group of designs, including many of a remarkably Mediterranean aspect, others more likely originating in western Asia. The

wide extension and consistency of this culture throughout Asia in the second millennium B. C. throw important light on ancient trade intercourse at a time when the eastern Mediterranean formed the western boundary of the civilised world." Thus, the veil which has hitherto concealed the origins of ancient Indian culture is being gradually lifted, and the University of Calcutta is to be congratulated on its efforts to extend this knowledge by the aid of native scholars like Mr. Panchanan Mitra."

* * *

Such is the view of the "Science Progress," July, 1921 :

"The University of Calcutta has done English-speaking people a service by putting into their hands an English translation of what will always be the three classical papers in the literature of the Principle of Relativity, a principle which must be recognised to have come to stay and to be of the utmost significance for the future of physical science, since it makes possible the reconciliation of Newton's simple system of dynamics with what the philosophers have always held in regard to the relative nature of position and motion. We have here first the paper of 1905, in which Einstein first put the view that the recognition of the relative nature of a scale of time acts as a sufficient explanation of the difficulties of reconciling the electro-magnetic theory of light with the experiments of Michelson and Morley. In this paper he completes and rounds off the electron theory of Lorentz as a theory of the constitution of matter, replacing the hypothesis of the contracting electron by the more general and at the same time more satisfying hypothesis now known as the Special Principle of Relativity (Annalen der Physik, 1905).

The second paper is that in which the late H. Minkowski showed that the work of Einstein brought the two concepts of space and time into such a close unity that he was able to say in a lecture at Cologne (Sept. 21, 1908), "Henceforth, the old conceptions of space for itself and time for itself are reduced to mere shadows, and only some sort of unity of the two will be found consistent with the facts." This lecture, delivered under the title of "Raum-und Zeit," is here produced.

Finally we have the paper (Annalen der Physik, 4, 49, 1916, in which Einstein gave the first complete account of his generalised theory of relativity, showing how it made a natural place for the gravitational phenomena which had always eluded the electro-magnetic theory, and how the new theory of gravitation automatically removed the only outstanding discrepancy between theory and observation.

* * *

Zeitschsiftder Deutsche Morgenlöndische Gesellschaft—the Z. D. M. G.—*the leading Oriental Journal in the World,* reviews Dr. Gauranganath Banerjee's work, as follows:

(*Translated from the German.*)

The author deals with his subject in an introduction which is of a general character and then divides the subject into 14 individual chapters. He has read much and in contrast with most of the Indian *Savants,* he understands besides English, even German, French and Dutch, which enables him to make good use of the various ramifications of literature connected with the subject. His judgment is based upon a careful consideration of the pros and cons, is free from bias and therefore it makes for conclusions to which one could not but give a whole-hearted support. In each chapter, he quotes the chief representatives of each view in their own language mostly in chronological order and after stating his own reasons, he pronounces his verdict. There is no space here to go into details, still a short summary of the contents and the results arrived at by the author might be given. In the first four chapters he discusses the influences of Hellenism on Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and Coinage of the Indians, which began with the invasion of Alexander and spread during the Kushana Empire, ceasing after its downfall. Moreover, the art of Coining which the Indians had learnt from the Hellenistic artists, there existed already an art which was merely revived or renewed. The Indians have indeed received an impulse to Sculpture from the Greeks, but it is curious that the buildings of Asoka do not betray in their style Grecian influence in the smallest degree. The Gandhara art is confined to North-Western India; Mathura is the most easterly point up to which its influence extended. It never penetrated into the actual interior of India, and even in its head-quarters of the Peshwar-Valley it came to an end about 400 A.D. The next part deals with Astronomy, Mathematics and Medicine. The Scientific Astronomy, as has been shown by Thibaut, is Alexandrine; but on the other hand, the Arithmetic is Indian, and in Geometry wherever there has been borrowing, the borrowing has been mainly from the Greeks. The many points of contact which the Greek and Indian medicines indicate must be investigated still further. The author accepts the conclusions of Professor Jolly (Medicin, S. 18). About 700 A.D., the Khalifs of Bagdad caused the works of the Indian doctors to be translated into Arabic and in consequence of this circumstance, European medicine remained under Indian influence up to the 17th

century. In the following chapter the author leaves undecided the question of the origin of the Indian Alphabet. The following two chapters treat of Literature and Drama. Neither the Greek Romance nor the Greek Epic has influenced the production of the Indians nor do these follow the Indian models. Even the Dramas of the two peoples are in the main independent of each other. At the most there is a possibility to consider that the Indians have borrowed this or that particular point from the Greek Drama. In the following chapters, it has been contended that the Religion, Philosophy and Mythology also of the two peoples are independent of each other. The resemblance in mythological ideas and stories of the individual Indo-European peoples may be explained as the outcome of further developments of the original common store. The last chapter deals with Fables and Folk-Tales. If India has to be thanked for a great number of them, the contrary has also to be conceded. It is remarkable that the author ascribes political fables only to the Greeks although, these are richly represented not only in the Mahabharata but also in the Kautilya Sastra as shown by certain expressions. They migrated into Greece probably from India. The author sees in the Jataka the chief type of the animal-story, whose date about 600 B.C. is we hope only a printer's mistake. For it must be said that this good book so well-arranged and so well-written, is disfigured by a large number of mis-prints, chiefly in the proper names and in quotations specially from the French. In this particular, the expected new edition should certainly be seen carefully. It is also to be desired that in the Bibliography the place of printing and the year should be added.

The Calcutta University and the Bengal Legislative Council.

Government by the legislature has been, throughout the long course of the political development of the world, deprecated by eminent thinkers and practical statesmen and yet when the dyarchy was thrust upon us, some of us felt rightly that dyarchy could not lead to democracy because, the democracy in Bengal, under the new conditions, was neither based upon a well organised party system nor did it insist on the doctrine of ministerial responsibility. The result has been that the legislature, instead of being led by the ministry in power, has actually attempted to lead it. The peculiar

composition of the Bengal Legislative Council of this session and the negation of the principles of democracy, can alone explain the hostility of some of the councillors to the spread of higher education in Bengal.

* * *

The Government of India Act of 1920 made education a transferred subject and transferred the control of the Universities to the Ministries of Education in the different provinces with one notable exception, *viz.*, the University of Calcutta. The Sadler Commission had just finished its labours and all questions relating to the re-organisation of the University of Calcutta were left in the hands of the central legislature. The indecision of Lord Chelmsford and the unfriendly attitude of Mr. Sharp delayed the fruition of the scheme of reform, and Mr. Sharp—in an anxious desire to improve upon the recommendations of the seven educational experts—issued a resolution proposing a re-construction of the Calcutta University without one single sentence about the financial guarantees. Disquieting rumours, we are told, were wafted across the sea and a caustic despatch from the Secretary of State put a curb upon the reforming zeal of an unreformed bureaucrat.

Meanwhile the patience of the members of the Calcutta University was well nigh exhausted; Non-co-operation had invaded the University and attempted to paralyse its activities and on the 24th of January, 1921, the Senate passed the following resolution:—

"That when legislation is undertaken for reconstruction of the Calcutta University, such legislation should be undertaken by the Bengal Legislative Council and not by the Indian Legislative Assembly or the Council of State. That to give effect to this view, the Government of India should be invited to take the necessary steps to authorise the Bengal Legislative Council to deal with the matter.

"Provided that, as previously decided by the Senate, no legislation for the reconstruction of the University should be undertaken, unless and until

a full enquiry has been made as to the probable cost of carrying out any proposed scheme of reconstruction, and it has been ascertained that the funds requisite can be made available."

Lord Chelmsford on the eve of his retirement came down to Calcutta and was persuaded to give his assent to a short Act, transferring the University of Calcutta to the jurisdiction of the Bengal Government. Subsequent events have shown, however, that the University has not yet been benefited *visibly* by the change of masters.

On the 5th of February, 1921, the Registrar of the Calcutta University wrote two letters to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Education Department, asking for financial assistance in accordance with the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission for (*i*) a sum of eleven lacs of rupees for the ensuing financial year for the erection of suitable buildings on the fish-market site. The University had 4½ lacs in deposit in the fish-market fund and proposed building operations with that sum of money with a supplementary grant of the 11 lacs to be paid in 1922-23. (*ii*) In accordance with the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission the University further asked for a grant of Rs. 1,25,000 for the maintenance of the Post-Graduate department. "It has been brought to the notice of the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate," so ran the letter of the Registrar, "that appointments in the Dacca University have been offered to members of the Calcutta University Staff on much higher salary than the Calcutta University has found it hitherto possible to pay them. To take one illustration, a member of the Post-Graduate Staff in Philosophy who is in receipt of a salary of Rs. 300 has been offered an appointment in the Dacca University on a minimum salary of Rs. 500 with periodical increments. The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate are not able to appreciate the justification for placing public funds at the disposal of the Dacca University authorities with the inevitable result that they are enabled to take away

the members of the Post-Graduate Staff by offer of higher salaries. If public funds are available for the development of higher teaching in Bengal, the Calcutta University is manifestly entitled to a fair share thereof."

The Calcutta University further appealed to the Government of Bengal for the grant of an additional sum of 10 lacs of rupees as a capital grant for the extension of *technological studies* in Calcutta and strongly urged upon the Government the just claims of the College of Science and Technology founded by the munificent gifts of the late Sir Rashbehary Ghose and Sir Taraknath Palit, supplemented by about 11 lacs of rupees paid by the University from its own fee income.

"The College of Science owes its existence," so wrote the Registrar, "in the main to the munificence of the late Sir Taraknath Palit and the Hon'ble Sir Rashbehary Ghose. The gift made by the former (money and land) is worth 15 lakhs of rupees: the endowment created by the latter exceeds 20 lakhs of rupees. The income of the two endowments has to be applied principally in the maintenance of eight Chairs and sixteen Research students. The Chairs are now held by Scholars of the highest academic distinction:

Palit Professor of Chemistry	...	Sir P. C. Ray, Kt., Ph.D., D.Sc., C.I.E., F.C.S.
Palit Professor of Physics ...	...	Mr. C. V. Raman, M.A.
Ghose Professor of Applied Mathematics		Dr. S. K. Banerjee, D.Sc.
Ghose Professor of Chemistry	...	Dr. P. C. Mitter, M.A., Ph.D. (Berlin).
Ghose Professor of Physics	...	Dr. D. M. Bose, M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D. (Berlin).
Ghose Professor of Agricultural Botany	...	Dr. S. P. Agharkar, M.A., Ph.D. (Berlin).
Ghose Professor of Applied Physics	...	Dr. P. N. Ghosh, M.A., Ph.D.
Ghose Professor of Applied Chemistry	...	Dr. H. K. Sen, M.A., D.Sc. (London).

The balance of the income of these endowments which is left after payment of the salaries of these Professors and of Scholarships to the Research students, is quite inadequate for equipment of the respective Laboratories. The University has, consequently, found it necessary to devote a large portion of its current income from year to year to the construction of the

Laboratory Buildings, and the equipment of the Laboratories. Some idea of the sums which have been spent by the University will be gained from the following statement :—

Cost of erection of Palit Laboratary Building at 92, Upper Circular Road	Rs.	3,89,427
Equipment for the Laboratory (Physical, Chemical and Biological)	,,	3,34,382
Total ...	Rs.	7,23,809

Besides this, the University maintains two Chairs, one for Botany and the other, for Zoology. The former is held by Dr. P. Brühl, D.Sc., who is on the grade of Rs. 800-50-1000, and the latter, by Mr. S. Maulik, M.A. (Cantab.), who is on the grade of Rs. 600-50-800. To carry on the work in each Department, the University has found it necessary to employ a number of Assistant Professors, Lecturers and Demonstrators, whose aggregate salary amounts to Rs. 3,525 per month. Notwithstanding all these arrangements, the University has found it impossible to undertake instruction in Technology and applied Science on anything approaching an adequate scale. This is a matter of deep regret, especially in view of the fact that the last gift of the Hon'ble Sir Rashbehary Ghose was made expressly for development of technological teaching, and the Chair of Botany first created by him was expressly intended for the improvement of agricultural instruction. The authorities of the Science College have had ready for some time past, a carefully prepared programme of work for the development of technological instruction, and its outline may be set forth here for information of Government :—

(A) Applied Chemistry	Rs.	4,65,000
(B) Applied Physics	,,	2,10,000
(C) Applied Botany (including Agriculture) ...	,,	2,00,000
(D) Library of the Science College	,,	1,25,000
Total ...	Rs.	10,00,000

In Chemistry (A), the most essential need is an adequate workshop: this, it is estimated, will cost Rs. 2,25,000, namely, Rs. 75,000 for building and Rs. 1,50,000 for appliances. It is proposed to undertake instruction in *Chemistry of Leather and Chemistry of Dyes.* Besides this, it is proposed

to have arrangements for practical instruction in the manufacture of *some* of the following:

Sulphuric Acid, Glass, Paper and Pulp, Lime, Mortar and Cement, Sugar, Soap, Candle and Glycerine, Paints and Pigments, Oils. Apart from these, factory appliances, like disintegrators, centrifugals, filter presses, hydraulic presses, vacuum pans, etc., would be indispensable. These would require a grant of 2 lakhs of rupees to enable the College authorities to make a good beginning. Finally, at least Rs. 40,000 would be needed for even a small laboratory for technical analysis. This brings up the figure for the Department of Chemistry to Rs. 4,65,000.

In the Department of Applied Physics (B), it is intended to undertake work in Applied Electricity, in the testing and standardisation of instruments, in Applied Optics (including Illumination Engineering), in Pyrometry and in Applied Thermo-Dynamics (including a study of the efficiency of different types of Heat Engines). An estimate of Rs. 21,000 is manifestly a very modest demand for so important a work.

In the Department of Botany (C), it is intended to undertake instruction in Agriculture. The most urgent need is an Experimental Farm, which need not be situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta. A site in some place easily accessible by rail will meet the needs of our students. The acquisition of land and the construction and equipment of a farm will cost at least a lakh of rupees. Another lakh will enable the University Professors to complete the arrangements which have already been begun in the Palit House at 35, Balligunj Circular Road.

The remaining item (D) is the Library of the University College of Science. For purposes of instruction on the most modern lines in such subjects as Chemistry, Physics and Botany, it is absolutely essential to acquire the chief journals and standard works of reference. A sum of Rupees One Lakh and Twenty-five Thousand will enable the University to procure not all, but many, of the most pressing requisites.

It is obvious that a recurring grant would be needed for the purpose of carrying out efficiently the work of technological and agricultural instruction from year to year. The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate do not, however, press for a recurring grant during the ensuing session, and they will be content to utilise the capital grant which may be placed at their disposal with the assistance of their present staff."

Meanwhile the Reformed Council met and opened fire on the University of Dacca. The two letters of the Registrar

remained unanswered, and, on the contrary, the appointment of some lecturers of the Calcutta University to the Dacca University at a much higher rate of pay and without the knowledge or consent of the authorities of the Calcutta University was sought to be justified on grounds which were obviously untenable, as the following letter addressed by the Registrar, Calcutta University, dated the 2nd April, 1921 to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, clearly shows:—

"I am directed to refer to the answers given by the Hon'ble the Minister in charge of Education to starred question No. XVIII at the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council held on the 1st April, 1921, and to point out that some of the statements contained in the answers are contrary to fact.

The answer under clause (*d*) "*was at one time* on the staff of the Calcutta University Science College." The fact is that Dr. Ghosh is even now a member of the staff. His name appears in the list of lecturers, and he is in receipt of Rupees one hundred a month as leave allowance. No application has so far been received by this University from Dr. Ghosh, or from any one else on his behalf, for leave to resign his appointment here, or to accept an appointment elsewhere. It may be added that Dr. Ghosh is under an obligation to the Calcutta University to serve here for three years after his return from England, or to refund with interest the sums advanced to him. The fact mentioned in the answer that his appointment to the Dacca University was recommended by an Advisory Selection Committee, of which the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University was a member, does not affect the position. The Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, who was placed on the Committee by the Governor of Bengal, was not given to understand that he was there to safeguard the interests of the Calcutta University as against the Dacca University or that he was required to do anything more than approve of the qualifications of the gentlemen whose names were placed before the Committee, irrespective of the question of the salaries they would receive, or whether the institutions in which they were employed would be willing to part with their services.

The answer, further, states under clauses (*e*), (*f*), (*g*) and (*h*) on information furnished by the Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, that "in certain cases the teachers, who were *mostly part-time* teachers in the

University of Calcutta, applied (for appointment in the Dacca University) through the President of the Post-Graduate Councils and with a recommendation on his part." The fact is that only two members of the Post-Graduate staff, *viz.*, Dr. Rameschandra Majumdar and Mr. Nalinimohan Bose, applied through the President and *both of them are whole-time officers* of this University. The two others, *viz.*, Mr. Satyendranath Bose and Mr. Haridas Bhattacharyya, who have been approved for appointment in the Dacca University, did not apply through the President, and both of them are whole-time officers of the University. Consequently, none of these four gentlemen was a part-time teacher in the University, and the suggestion contained in another part of the answer that higher pay has been offered for increased work at Dacca, in so far as it is based on the assumption that these gentlemen were part-time officers here and would be whole-time officers there, is without foundation. Whether their work at Dacca will be more responsible than their work here is a matter on which opinions may differ; but the fact should not be overlooked that whereas in Calcutta these professors had to devote their whole time to Post-Graduate teaching and research, it is understood that in Dacca they are likely to be burdened also with under-graduate work.

I am to request that in fairness to this University the true facts as stated above may be placed before the Council."

Such was the state of affairs when the Bengal Legislative Council was already in an attitude of attention and preparedness. We live in an age of universal unrest and it is impossible to foresee the action and reaction of events without any apparent mutual connection. In an ill-fated moment, the Judges of the High Court of Calcutta rejected the representation of the Vakils to alter certain rules framed by them including the rules relating to the preparation of paper books by the Vakils themselves. There was wild talk of a wholesale strike of the Vakils, there were thick rumours relating to interference by the Executive with the Judiciary, and amidst the bustle and din, the Governing Body of the Law College declined to reappoint two of its professors one of whom happened to be a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. Events followed with startling rapidity, the memory of which is still fresh in all its bitterness and does not bear

any recapitulation. The Bengal Council was about to begin its labour, and questions and resolutions were at once hurled at the University.

Meanwhile a Conference of the Head Masters of Schools and representatives of the Managing Committees thereof met and decided to urge upon an unprepared Government the insistent claims of vocational education in schools recognised by the University. On the 23rd of February, 1921, Rai Bahadur Mahendrachandra Mitra had recommended to the Bengal Government.—

> That (1) immediate steps be taken for preparing a scheme for the furtherance of vocational education and that practical effect be given to the same by opening special classes in all Government and aided schools in Bengal with the help and in co-ordination with the Agricultural and Public Works Departments, and authorities of workshops and mills, where possible; (2) that financial provision be made to carry out the scheme as early as possible and that the services of the Director of Industries, Bengal, be utilised for the purpose as Commissioner for the proposed special test Examinations.

There were eloquent speeches over the motion and it was carried without a division. Another Rai Bahadur, not to be defeated in his oratorical capacity or his educational ingenuity, brought forward a motion followed by another neighbouring M. L. C.,—a veteran educationist himself—urging upon the Government the impending necessity of creating a Secondary Board of Education to take charge of schools with vocational education as its chief plank. The composition of that Secondary Board of Education was not left to be determined by the experienced educationist or the needs of education itself, nor were the outlines of the scheme laid down by the Calcutta University Commission accepted, but a novel proposal was made to introduce what is called a popular element in education by the popular representatives in which the representation of educational interests had no place. The resolutions have been carried by

the Bengal Legislative Council and in due course they will merely add to the pages of that famous book of "Pious Wishes." Some of the M. L. C.'s next attempted to throw mud at the Vice-Chancellor of the University by asking questions regarding the qualifications, status and salaries, or other remunerations of four of his relatives serving in the University. Mr. Hemchandra Nashkar's academic interests had suddenly been fired by an ardent desire to clear the impure atmosphere of the Calcutta University. University men have never been uncharitable enough to attribute *motives* to Mr. Nashkar but some young lecturers in the Post-Graduate Department in Anthropology, merely in their Conventional style, attempted a measurement between him and College Square. "Where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise"; and it was not brought to the notice of Mr. Nashkar that three of the gentlemen whom he had chosen to attack under a mask possessed the highest academic qualifications in the University, and two of them were besides, elected Members of the Senate. Therefore they were as much entitled to the use of the magic expression—"popular representatives" as he himself or the other "democratic-representative critics" of the University, for does not Vol. No. 61 of the Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings betray the following facts:

Name and nature of the constituency.	Number of candidates nominated.	Number of electors who recorded their votes.
(1) Calcutta North Non-Mahomedan Urban (Mr. Jatindranath Bose).	1	...
(2) Bankura Dist. Non-Mahomedan Rural (Mr. Rishindranath Sarkar).	6	4,052
(3) 24-Parganas Rural Central Non-Mahomedan (Mr. Hemchandra Nashkar).	4	2,042
(4) Calcutta South (Mr. Surendranath Mallik).	2	1,063

The wonder is that the President of the Bengal Legislative Council permitted personal questions to be shot at the University by some of the representatives, who—the non-co-operators say—represent nobody but themselves and maintain, that their election after all, is an 'accident of accidents.' But we must remember that all this took place before the admonition of Mr. Whyte, President of the Legislative Assembly to his noble Councillors.

We may here recall the eloquent words which the Hon'ble the Education Minister had used in reply to Dr. Suhrawardy's question regarding the Dacca University on the *1st of April, 1921.* "The University of Dacca is not a department of the Government of Bengal. It is a body quite distinct from Government, incorporated by an Act of the legislature and invested not only with certain functions but with a statutory obligation to perform them..... It is not the business of the Local Government to make such enquiries, the member suggests, in this connection."

The troubles of the University did not end here. Patriotic M. L. C.'s whose expert financial knowledge was discovered by Columbuses of high education—denied the privilege of confidence or trust by trustors or trustees in their life-time—came forward as *nornas* to scrutinise the action of the custodians of the trust funds in the University. Details regarding audit report were called for without a definite knowledge of the functions of the auditors; statements made by a particular member of the Senate regarding the misappropriation of trust funds attached to the University were eagerly swallowed. The member in question no doubt with a view to state the truth and nothing but the truth, omitted to mention the nature of the trust fund and to give details relating to the precise nature and scope of the alleged misappropriation.

On the top of this all, came a resolution for the appointment of a Committee of enquiry on the administration

of the Post-Graduate Department by a veteran champion of the rights of the people of "the poorest and the most backward district in Bengal" (to quote his own words). Mr. Rishindranath Sarkar's knowledge of affairs of men and things was no doubt derived from his intimate contact with high education in Bengal. An anonymous writer in the press advised a careful investigation into his academic distinctions but do we not know that Mr. Sarkar was one of our examiners in the Preliminary Examination in Law held in January, 1921? He held the Examinership, not as a consolation prize but on account of his depth of learning and his successful career in the profession. We have no desire to present the bitterly personal tone of the debate in the Council nor are we prepared at this stage to soothe the vanities or smooth the susceptibilities of self-constituted educational experts. We merely quote what a truth-loving Irishman felt, thought and wrote about the episode:

The masterly performance of 'The Merchant of Venice' by the Waring Company at The Empire has, mayhap, induced some people in Calcutta to read Shakespeare instead of being content, as heretofore, to hear pundits speak of him and attempt to interpret his message. I would advise such self-helpers, who are also interested in the affairs of the Calcutta University, to turn to the tragedy of 'Julius Cæsar' for a dramatic and historical parallel to the conspiracy against Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the Vice-Chancellor, which was revealed in all its shabby littleness in a two-days' debate in the Bengal Legislative Council on the following motion of Babu Rishindranath Sarkar:

"This Council recommends to the Government that, with a view to determine what financial assistance, if any, should be given to the Calcutta University, a Committee consisting of two financial experts, and two members of the Senate, to be nominated by the Government, and three non-official members of this Council not holding any office in the University, to be elected by the Council, be appointed at an early date to inquire into and report on the general working of the University, in particular its financial administration, and to recommend such urgent measures or reforms as may be necessary."

This motion was a clumsy camouflage of a personal attack on a man whose service to the Calcutta University is invaluable, whose ability is so transcendent as to provoke the superstitious repugnance of the half educated and the bitter enemity of the distempered. In the Senate of the Calcutta University and in the Bar Library of the Calcutta High Court there are many men like Cassius "with a lean and hungry look" who are plotting to down the greatest scholar in Bengal and the most masterful mind because

> "He doth bestride the narrow world
> Like a Colossus; and they petty men
> Walk under his huge legs and peep about
> To find themselves dishonourable graves."

* * *

In Shakespeare's play the eponymous hero has little or nothing to do with the plot, beyond making, as Hazlitt puts it, "several vapouring and rather pedantic speeches." In the drama in the Bengal Council the real hero did not appear at all, but it was evident from the speeches of those who spoke for or against the motion that they were obsessed by fear of his "spirit ranging for revenge." Of Sir Asutosh it may truly be said, as Cæsar said of himself,

> 'I do know but one
> That unassailable holds on his rank
> Unshak'd of motion.'

And because his enemies and critics know this, they are as tricky as Cassius who bade the visionary and impracticable Brutus not to be over-critical of "every nice offence."

* * *

If Lord Ronaldshay bows to the factional clamour and appoints a Committee to discredit the Vice-Chancellor—that is the only object of the motion which was carried by 55 votes against 41—he will deal a staggering blow to University education in Bengal. It is to be hoped he won't, even at the risk that his denial will drive some pseudo-Moderates, who wear the cloak of Co-operation to cover a multitude of sins, to throw it from their shoulders and stalk forth in the naked barbarity of non-Co-operation. Better an avowed foe than a candid friend. Mr. P. C. Mitter, Minister for Education, in vain reminded the conspirators that it was incumbent on the Government to give the University authorities an opportunity of explaining and defending the administration of their

finances; but it is a consideration which must weigh with the Government. I believe with Mr. Mitter that Sir Asutosh has a full and sufficient answer to silence his uncharitable critics, and until he makes it let us hear no more of a Committee of spiteful "Nosey Poke's and Uriah Heep's."

"Give unto them made lowly wise
The spirit of self-sacrifice
The confidence of reason give
And in the truth let thy bond men live."

Mr. Biss's Report on the Expansion and Improvement of Primary Education in Bengal.

Mr. Biss's Report begins with a callous confession. "I was instructed," he writes, "to make proposals regarding the expenditure of one lakh of rupees that had been set aside in the budget for primary education outside Calcutta for the year 1920-21. Unfortunately Rs. 50,000 out of this had to be utilised for other purposes, while Rs. 25,000 was allotted to the Municipality of Darjeeling for a part of its educational programme. Out of the balance had to be found the cost of the enquiry, so that little remained with which to experiment in this matter of primary education in which so much experiment and research is required before we can feel secure in advancing along any particular line of policy." We are not told for what other purposes Rs. 50,000 out of the paltry sum allotted to the improvement of primary education was spent. The Government have not yet shown their willingness to spend more than an infinitesimal fraction of the public revenues for educating the people whose trustees they profess to be. Supplementary grants are demanded and obtained for the Police and the Army, and what little is publicly allotted to Education imperceptibly disappears in the bottomless abyss of "other needs and other purposes." It is no wonder therefore, that not more than 20·5 per cent. of the children of school-going age should find their way to a school, good, bad or indifferent. And what rapid progress we have made

in this direction! "In 1835-39 Mr. Adam estimated that 7½ per cent. of the children of school-going age were at school. A rough estimate now places it at 20·5 per cent." A splendid record for a century! and we have no doubt it will compare extra-ordinarily well with the rapid strides made by European Countries during the same period. In the year 1918-19, out of a total population of 45,483,077 only 16,60,467 of our children went to school and it will be no exaggeration to say that scarcely 2 per cent. of our women are literate. Bengal is hopelessly behind Madras and Bombay and the Bengal Government bear only 34·5 per cent. of the expenditure of Primary Education while Madras and Bombay get 52·5 and 61·4 per cent. respectively of their total expenditure from their provincial revenues. We are confronted not only by a chronic lack of funds but by a policy of spending what little is available after Commissions of enquiry leaving nothing to carry out their recommendations. The Sadler Commission, met, toured and deliberated. Lakhs and Lakhs were spent and all that we have to-day are 14 bulky volumes of blue books with a mass of healthy criticism and suggestions; but alas, there is no fund! Some of our Universities would fain have those lakhs and gladly dispense with the 14 volumes that they now find as useless and forgotten as the celebrated 14 points of President Wilson. Similarly do many secondary and primary schools sigh for the use of the large funds annually spent on the inspecting staff—people who sometimes have no suggestion to make, no new light to throw, but who visit the school room, tape in hand, and do the work which an ordinary surveyor might do more efficiently and cheaply. We should however remember that Mr. Biss is by no means responsible for the policy of the Government he serves.

Mr. Biss says—"Of the number of schools there is nothing to complain. There is a school to every 1·7 square miles of Bengal, including its immense areas of jungle,

water, and cultivation." Mr. Biss however seems to be familiar with the story of the three scholars, who found themselves beyond their depth, in a small *nala* the average depth of which they had found after a careful calculation was not more than two feet and eleven inches. He rightly points out that the *pathshalas* and the *maktabs* are very unevenly distributed and a fair redistribution is urgently necessary to meet the needs of backward localities.

The two principles of Co-ordination and Concentration, which Mr. Biss strongly advocates are fundamentally sound and should commend themselves to those amateurs who find it convenient to masquerade their educational zeal in the spacious hall near the Eden Garden. He realises that the reorganisation of Primary, Secondary and University Education must go hand in hand and that piecemeal reform is impossible. The present class of teachers, after a couple of years' training will not be able, we are afraid, to take up the work in hand with any chance of success. Mr. Biss should remember that one of the most potent causes of the failure of Sir Alexander Pedlar's scheme was the lack of really qualified teachers. The idea of social-welfare centres is good, but none but really intelligent and well informed students will be able to take advantage of them. In the Lower Primary Schools at present there are 42,516 teachers. Of these only 7,747 underwent a special training in the Guru Training Schools and the great majority never went beyond the Middle Vernacular stage. They may go to the new training schools designed by Mr. Biss; the elements of Physics, Chemistry, Agriculture and other Sciences may be explained to them; they may listen to learned discourses on child psychology and school management; they may be made to read some works on Botany and Zoology, but will they be able to assimilate them and impart them, in an intelligible form to their future pupils? Probably not. The present teachers opened their schools, in most cases to supplement

their ordinary income. They are literate no doubt but literacy and education cannot be regarded as the self-same thing. The present class of pundits therefore must be replaced and replaced by a class of men who are sufficiently educated to receive training almost in every subject.

We have to remember that these new types of schools are not designated to impart the knowledge of the three R's alone. Their primary object will be to train one class of students for the University and another class of students for the vocations of their life. The school master will therefore have to be, not only a close student of his surroundings, but he will have to learn something of the vocations of his neighbours. For example, a primary school in a *malo* village must teach the boys something about pisciculture. The *malo* boy will learn from his father, how to make his net, how to cast it, how to repair the boat but if his education is really intended to make him more fit for the struggles of his life, he must be taught something about his vocation that his father did not know and so a teacher competent to impart this knowledge must be found. But can we expect that a Lower Primary passed youth, after two years' training, will be competent to take so much advantage of the social-welfare centres as to be able to meet all these various needs? A primary school master must go at least up to the I.Sc. standard before he can be trained for this work, and we are afraid the scale of pay, proposed by Mr. Biss, is hardly good enough to attract the right sort of persons. The ultimate success of the whole scheme depends upon the training of the teachers, and this in its turn, depends on the re-organisation of the University on new lines. For the University will have to supply the staff of the training colleges, training schools, the inspection department and even social-welfare centres.

We are afraid Mr. Biss lays too much importance on the school buildings. In rural areas, the village boys have met from time immemorial in the *Chandimandap* of the most

influential of their co-villagers. This is an inexpensive way of finding a school building. These buildings are generally open, they have a courtyard where they can play, not football, and cricket, it is true, but those inexpensive national games which are no less healthy and no less conducive to discipline. The lower primary schools will hardly need a big library and given the right teacher, the neighbouring fields and ponds and bushes will serve their purpose better than any Natural History museum. The private buildings are invariably kept in a better state of repair than public buildings for here the prestige of the owner is directly concerned. And so far as our knowledge goes, wealthy villagers will willingly equip their *Chandimandaps* according to the demands of the Education Department, provided the *pathsala* continues to be located there. In backward localities, however, a neat and decent house will have to be provided at the public expense. But if in wealthier villages a *Chandimandap* in a central place is selected much unnecessary expense may be avoided and the money thus saved may be conveniently diverted to the improvement of the teachers' pay.

Nor do we think that a large inspecting staff is necessary. It can be conveniently reduced. After all, we cannot expect from them anything but systematisation. By these new schools our aim will be not uniformity but diversity. Every school will be designed to meet the special needs of a particular village. Some schools will impart instruction in sericulture while others will avoid it as absolutely unnecessary and train their boys in weaving. An inspecting staff, under these circumstances, with a set of rigid departmental rules, may be not only unnecessary but positively harmful. The teacher must not be interfered with and he must be allowed to follow his own initiative. At present an unusually large proportion of the funds at the disposal of the Education Department go to the maintenance

of a highly paid inspecting staff. The reduction of this overgrown staff will place not an inconsiderable sum at the hands of the Minister and this may be profitably spent for the expansion and improvement of Primary education.

Another insuperable difficulty however has to be removed before we can induce really good men to undertake the work of education in this country. Whatever might have been their social status in the golden age of the past, teachers occupy but a low position in society to-day. They are, at most, tolerated. Under such circumstances, it is no wonder, that intelligent youths should avoid the teaching profession as much as they can, and only those who cannot help it accept a teacher's appointment. No legislation, however, will be of any use here, though an improved salary may gradually raise the Primary School Pundit in the estimation of his neighbours.

Taxation, we are told, will be necessary, but Mr. Biss assures us it will not be burdensome. We are afraid he bases his conclusion on wrong information. His arguments may be incontestable on paper but if he cared to make a local enquiry in any of the rural areas he would find to his surprise that the majority of the boys really did not pay so high a fee as 4 *as.* per month. The Pundit has to meet the demands of the departmental regulations and so he fixes the lowest fee at 4 *as.* This fee again is not regularly paid and payment in kind is not unusual. But he has to keep up the show on paper and the Sub-Inspector, when he examines the Pathshala accounts finds to his delight that the boys punctually pay their fees on the first of every month. In reality however, punctual payment is absolutely unknown and the Pundit deems himself very fortunate when a fee of two annas is paid while the lowest fee is fixed at 4 *as.* A cess will therefore be really irksome and unpopular and, as improved education may be reasonably expected to improve the morals of the people, Government may conveniently reduce the Police expenditure

to avoid the necessity for fresh taxation. But if that is not possible, a cess will have to be levied because we must have education at any cost.

There is one fundamental defect in the Report which is unpardonable. Though 98 per cent. of our women are illiterate, Mr. Biss has not a word to say about female education. He solemnly observes—"It is perhaps unnecessary in the twentieth century to enter upon a long argument concerning the responsibility of the State in education. It is now universally admitted that the aggregate value of the individuals composing a nation is ultimately the value of that State. It follows that the State should use its best endeavours to destroy ignorance and to create efficiency among its people, etc." We find to our despair that by "people" Mr. Biss only means its male portion and as he is out to combat the ignorance of the boys only, the girls have nothing to expect from him. But as our women also pay taxes, they can rightly demand that the State should be as attentive to their educational needs as to those of their brothers.

It will take some time to find the right class of Teachers to undertake the work. Here is a golden opportunity for Non-co-operating graduates and undergraduates. They possess the necessary public spirit; they have the enthusiasm and the patriotism by which real Teachers should be inspired. They have decided to serve their country even at the sacrifice of their future prospects. Here is their proper sphere; let them undertake the improvement and expansion of Primary education in Bengal.

Non-Co-operation and High Education.

At the meeting of the Senate held on the 24th September the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor made an explanatory statement with reference to the comparative tables of attendance of students in our Schools and Colleges. He emphatically

invited public attention to the disastrous results of non-co-operation on our educational institutions of all grades.

We shall place before our readers the tables and the explanatory statement.

"The comparative statements of the number of students in schools and colleges, which have been previously circulated to all members of the Senate and have now been formally laid on the table by the Registrar, embody information of special value and import at the present time, and I feel it my duty to invite your attention to their full significance. In January and February last when the non-co-operation movement was much in evidence amongst students in educational institutions in this Presidency, it was considered desirable to ascertain to what extent the various colleges had been affected thereby. College authorities were accordingly requested to forward a comparative statement, showing the number of students on the rolls on the 15th September, 1920 and the number of students attending on the 1st March, 1921. The information required was limited to the figures for the First year I.A., the First year I.Sc., the Third year B.A., and the Third year B.Sc. Classes, in as much as the Second-year and Fourth year students had already been sent up as candidates for the respective University Examinations. The returns received disclosed the magnitude of the disturbance which had already taken place and had not then completely subsided. The number of students in each of the four classes mentioned had fallen off in a remarkable manner and had been reduced from 11,270 to 6,580; in other words, about 42 per cent. of the students had ceased to attend the First-year and Third-year Classes of our affiliated colleges. This reduction was alarming; but the hope was confidently entertained by experienced educationists in general that the students would return to their colleges after the summer vacation. Meanwhile, there were indications that the non-co-operation movement had spread far and wide amongst boys in schools, and

at the Conferences of Head Masters and Managers held here in May and June, it was freely stated that many of the schools, specially those situated in Eastern Bengal, had been seriously affected. In these circumstances, the Syndicate decided to ask for further returns and included the schools within the scope of the enquiry. The returns were slow to come; but they have now been received from a very large proportion of the institutions, and have been analysed. With this preliminary explanation I shall proceed to draw your attention to the figures contained in the several statements laid before you.

One of these statements shows (*a*) the total number of students on the rolls of the recognised schools about the end of July, 1921; (*b*) the total number of students on the rolls about the end of July, 1920; (*c*) the number of students in the Matriculation Class in July, 1921; and (*d*) the number of candidates likely to be sent up for the next Matriculation Examination. The total number of recognised schools on our list is 846; of these, 813 have furnished returns as to the number of students in July, 1920, and 815 as to the number of students in July, 1921. The number of schools which have furnished information as to the students in the Matriculation Class is, however, smaller, namely, 724, while 778 have furnished returns as to the number of candidates likely to be sent up for the next Matriculation Examination. The statement shows that whereas in July, 1920, those schools had 2,10,936 pupils, they had in July, 1921, only 1,63,787 students; in other words, 47,149 students have disappeared from our recognised schools, that is, nearly 23 per cent. of the students have left off their studies. If, again, you compare the number of candidates likely to be sent up for the next Matriculation Examination with the number actually sent up to the last examination, you find a similar divergence. The returns last year showed that 23,600 might be expected to be sent up, but as a matter of fact only 19,125 actually entered for the examination. In view of the returns

from 778 schools already mentioned, it is thus fairly certain that the actual number of candidates at the Matriculation Examination next year will not exceed 16,000. The position then is that so far as recognised schools are concerned, the total number of students has been reduced by 22 per cent. and the number of candidates to be presented at the Matriculation Examination next year may be reduced by nearly 20 per cent. The normal growth in the number of candidates, from year to year, has thus been arrested; on the other hand, there has been a marked retrogression which may probably continue for some time to come; for, not merely the topmost class but the classes lower down also have been affected, as is indicated by the reduction in the total strength of the schools taken as a whole.

Let us now turn to the Colleges. As I have stated already, the returns received some months ago showed that 42 per cent. of the students, whose names were on the rolls of the First year and Third year Classes on the 15th September, 1920, had ceased to attend classes on the 1st March, 1921. When the Colleges re-opened after the summer vacation, the First year and the Third year students may be assumed to have been promoted in the normal course of events, so as to form the new Second year and Fourth year Classes, which were further strengthened by the admission of what are called "failed students," that is, students, who had failed at the University Examinations held in March and April. If we leave out of account for the moment these failed students, we find that on the 10th August, 1921, the regular Second year students numbered 4,983,[1] while the regular Fourth year students numbered 2,602[1]; in other words, on the 10th August, 1921, the strength of the regular Second year and Fourth year Classes taken together was 7,585.[1] But as the number of students attending the First year and Third year Classes on the 1st March, 1921, was 6,121,[1] the

[1] This excludes the two Dacca Colleges.

difference between 7,585 and 6,121, that is, 1,464, represents the number of students who had returned from amongst those that had ceased to attend on the 1st March, 1921. To summarise, the number of students, which stood at 10,492 [1] on the 15th September, 1920, and was brought down to 6,121 [1] on the 1st March, 1921, rose to 7,585 on the 10th August, 1921. To put the matter briefly, 42 per cent. of the students disappeared in March, 1921; nearly 14 per cent. returned to the Colleges by the 10th August, 1921; so that out of 10,492 the net loss was 2,907, that is, more than 27 per cent. I shall leave it to you to imagine the magnitude of this defection in its effect upon the Colleges concerned, while I turn for a moment to consider its probable consequence on the University.

The number of Second year students, regular and failed, in all the Colleges, on the 10th August, 1921, comes up to 5,458. It is too much to assume that every one of these students will be able to pursue his studies regularly during the remainder of the session, will successfully pass the College Test and will enter for the University Intermediate Examination next year. But even if they should all do so, there must be a serious reduction in the number of Intermediate candidates at the next examination in comparison with the number at the last examination. In 1920, the number of Intermediate candidates stood at 7,180; in 1921, the number fell to 6,714; non-co-operation had already begun to make itself felt. In 1922, the number may be nearer 5,000 than 6,000. In the case of the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, the position is likely to be still more striking. On the 10th August, 1921, the number of Fourth year B.A. and B.Sc. students—regular as well as failed—stood at 2,667. Assume for a moment that all of them will be able to enter for the Degree Examinations early next year. When we remember that the number of B.A. and B.Sc. candidates was 4,462 in 1920 and was 4,539 in 1921, we can at once realise that there will be a very

[1] This includes the two Dacca Colleges.

serious reduction in 1922, when the number may be nearer 2,500 than 3,000. These figures amply justify the conclusion that, in all human probability, the number of candidates in 1922 at the Matriculation, at the I.A. and I.Sc., and at the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations will be appreciably smaller than the corresponding numbers in 1921 and 1920. I have hitherto said nothing as to the extent of possible reduction in the number of candidates at the other examinations, as the full data are not yet available; but this may be taken as more than probable that there will be a marked reduction in 1922 in the number of candidates at the M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations as also the examinations in the Faculty of Law. The Law Classes as also some of the Post-Graduate Classes have been undoubtedly affected, though they withstood the attacks of the non-co-operators, when the movement was at its height, far more effectively than the undergraduate and school classes. It may be stated in this connection that the number of candidates at the M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations in 1920 was 765, which has been reduced in 1921 to 639. The contrast in the case of the Law Examinations is equally manifest; the number which stood at 4,780 in 1920 has fallen to 4,294 in 1921. There is good ground for the belief that the numbers in 1922 will be still smaller.

A further study of the figures in the comparative statements placed before you will tend to support the conclusion that the diminution in numbers is not likely to be temporary in duration. The new Third year Classes, as they stood on the 10th August, 1921, shortly after the commencement of the current session, contained 2,991 students as against 3,641 in the corresponding classes on the 15th September, 1920. Again, the number of students in the new First year Classes, as they stood on the 10th August, 1921, shortly after the commencement of the current session, was 6,463, as against 7,942 in the corresponding classes on the 15th September, 1920. This by itself is disquieting; but there

is one feature of the admissions into the new First year Classes, which makes the situation really graver than it looks at first sight. In 1920, the admissions into the First year I.A. and I.Sc. Classes were 5,369 and 2,573 respectively; in 1921, the figures are 3,497 and 2,966; in other words, there has been a revulsion of feeling amongst our students against literary and in favour of scientific study. It is impossible to say whether this is a merely passing mood; but the important fact cannot be overlooked that there is not sufficient accommodation in the Laboratories, attached to our Degree Colleges, for the instruction of the increasing number of students, who may pass the Intermediate in Science Examination. The Colleges never had the means to expand their Laboratories under post-war financial conditions; and meanwhile their resources have been crippled by the sudden fall in the number of students. It may thus happen that many students, who pass the I.Sc. Examination, will not be able to get admission into the B.Sc. Classes, nor will there be room enough for them in the Medical and Engineering Colleges. Thus debarred from further study on the scientific side, they may attempt to revert to the literary side; but the transference involves so much additional work as to be practically not open to the average student. All these circumstances combined may well tend to prevent an immediate rise in the number of B.A. and B.Sc. students to the average normal figure of recent years. These causes will undoubtedly operate to the serious pecuniary embarrassment of many of the individual schools and colleges concerned; but the resultant effect upon the University itself will be extraordinarily disastrous and far-reaching in character. On the most cautious calculation, it may well be maintained that the reduction in the Examination fees received by the University will be Rs. 45,000 for the Matriculation Examination, Rs. 48,000 for the I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations, Rs. 90,000 for the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, Rs. 60,000 for the Law,

Examinations and Rs. 20,000 for the M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations, making an aggregate reduction of Rs. 2,63,000 during the current financial year; for although during the session which closed in June last, the fall was confined chiefly to the M.A. and M.Sc. and Law Examinations, in the session now current, the admissions to all the principal examinations will be affected.

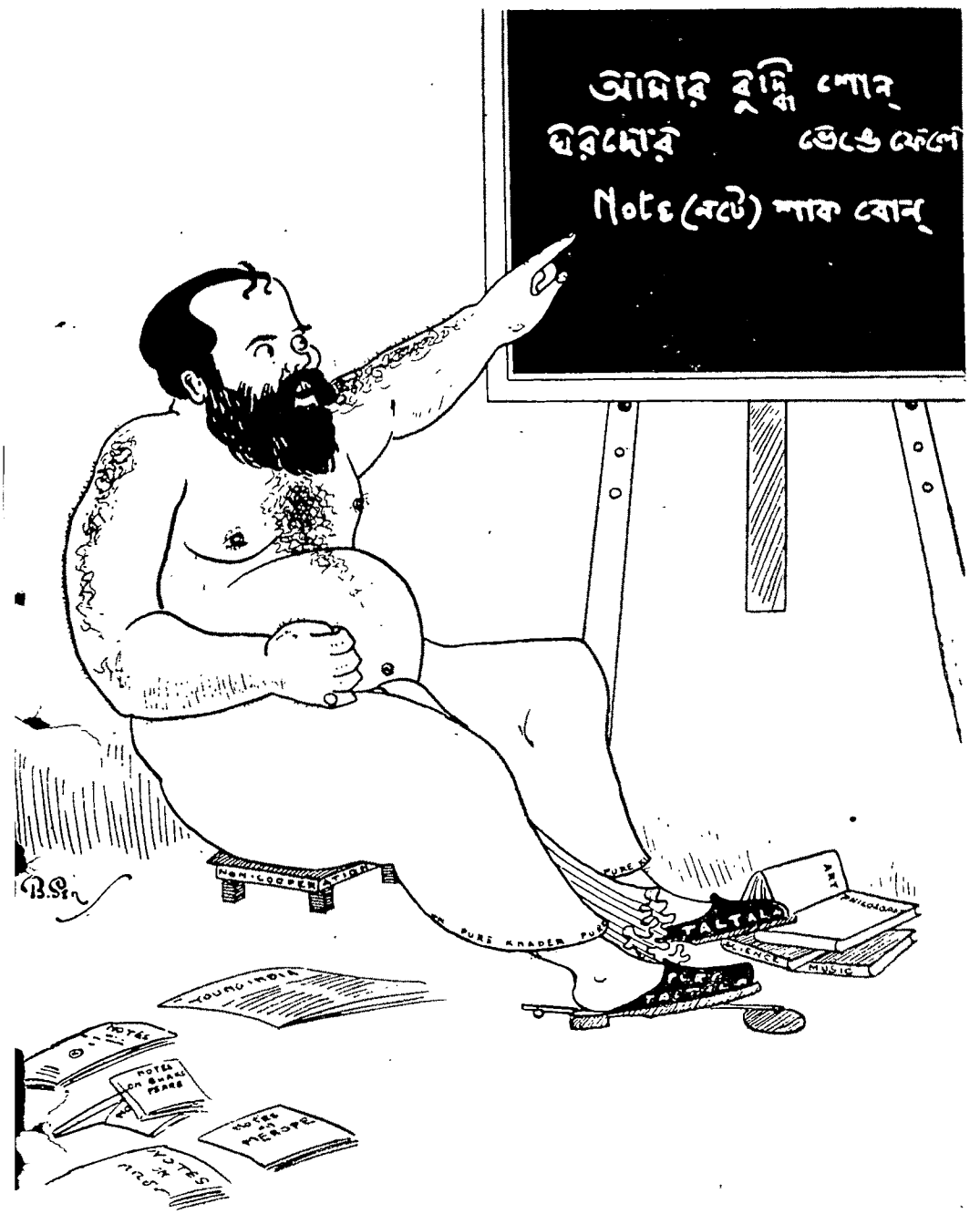
I have not hesitated to invite your attention at the earliest possible moment to the grave injury inflicted on educational institutions in general, and on the University in particular, by the non-co-operation movement, not so much with a view to create alarm, as to enable you to devise measures to cope with the peril. The magnitude and imminence of that peril have apparently not yet been fully realised by all who are interested in the maintenance and efficiency of the educational machinery, which has been seriously affected in all its parts. Nothing will be gained by pessimism, and though the position is undoubtedly very serious, there does seem to be a glimmering of hope here and there. The statement as to the schools shows that about 68 of them have not given estimates of the probable number of candidates to be sent up for the next Matriculation Examination; some of these schools may perhaps be non-co-operating, but it is permissible to assume that the others may send up some hundreds of candidates, even though they may not have replied to our enquiry. Then, as regards the colleges; nearly 15 per cent. of the First year and Third year students, who had ceased to attend in March last, have re-joined the Colleges. I have no wish to minimise in any way the gravity of the position, but these figures, which furnish indication of returning sanity, may tend to show that the more people see of the actual educational results of the non-co-operation movement, the less they like it. I trust you will not consider me too insistent, if I emphasise again the extent and the nature of the mischief to the cause of education for which the movement has been

responsible. It is clear that between forty thousand and fifty thousand young boys, that is, boys below college age, have left the schools, have been rendered idle, and have had their education interrupted, if not finally brought to an end, at an age at which the time lost can hardly, if ever, be made up. This wastage amongst the younger boys is nothing short of a national calamity; it is manifestly a matter of much greater gravity to the community than even the fact that three or four thousand college students should have prematurely cut short their educational career; for, these latter have qualified themselves at any rate up to the Matriculation, and in many instances up to the Intermediate standard.

Finally, I venture to express the hope that you will be unanimous as to the propriety of the publication of these figures at the earliest possible opportunity. No doubt, the non-co-operators may feel elated, they may even glory in the damage which they have caused to education in these provinces. But it is of paramount importance that the public should have information on a matter which so directly and vitally concerns them. In the light of these facts, let the public judge whether the achievement of the non-co-operators, so far as education is concerned, should be enthusiastically acclaimed or emphatically condemned. Let the public also realise the extent of the financial loss sustained by the University. It will then rest with the public to decide whether they wish to maintain a University or not, and the responsibility will be theirs, if the University is compelled to close the doors, for, obviously, a University cannot be maintained without funds."

Vocational Education

A Conference of Head Masters was summoned by the Registrar on the 7th May, 1921, to consider what steps may be taken up by the University to facilitate the introduction of scientific and vocational education in our schools. Four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hundred and six Head Masters were present at the Conference. A second Conference of the representatives of the Managing Committees of recognised schools held three sittings on the 9th, 11th and 12th June, 1921 to discuss the steps to be taken by their respective schools to carry out the resolutions passed by the Conference of the Head Masters. The conferences were notable, firstly because, the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate definitely decided to abandon a purely literary form of education in order to enable boys to earn a livelihood by means other than what have been euphemistically called the "honourable professions." "If the object which the promoters of this Conference have in view," said the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, "is even partially recognised, we shall open a new chapter in the history of the educational activities of this University." He continued: "The opinion has been widely expressed that the education given to our boys is materially defective, that it does not befit them for the struggle of life. It has been described by some as prevailingly literary, by other as pre-eminently unpractical and the demand is insistent that immediate steps should be taken to introduce a scientific and vocational element into the system. This can be achieved, however, only by co-operation between the Schools and the University." Another notable feature of the Conference was that it was practically for the first time during the long series of eventful years, that the University has been closely associated with the schools, that the schools were invited to advise the University on this momentous question of vocational education. The Head Masters by a large majority decided upon the acceptance of the fundamental principle, *viz.*, that the schools should retain their association with the University for the purpose of imparting vocational education. The Head Masters thus ignored the claims of a separate organisation to control their activities. They cast their votes also against the idea of having separate technical schools, an idea which has never found favour with

the people of the country. The vernacular of the candidate was accepted as the medium of instruction and examination in all subjects other than English and each candidate would be required to be examined in the following subjects—

1. Vernacular.
2. English.
3. Elementary Mathematics.
4. Geography with special reference to India including the rudiments of Commercial Geography,
5. History of England and India.

Besides these compulsory subjects candidates would be required to pass in at least one of the following subjects :—

A. A third language (*e.g.*, Sanskrit, Pali Tibetan, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Armenian, Latin, Greek, German, French, and an Indian Vernacular other than the vernacular already taken up as a compulsory subject.

B. Drawing and practical Geometry.

C. Mensuration and Surveying.

D. Experimental Mechanics.

E. Elementary Science (Physics and Chemistry).

F. Hygiene.

G. Botany.

H. Manual Training.

In addition to a mixed course like the one sketched above, the Conference decided, that the candidates should be required to produce a certificate that they have received training for a specified period, according to a prescribed syllabus, and under an approved teacher in *at least one* of the following subjects :—

(*a*) Agriculture and Gardening.
(*b*) Carpentry.
(*c*) Smithy.
(*d*) Typewriting and Book-keeping.
(*e*) Spinning and Weaving.

(*f*) Shorthand.
(*g*) Music.
(*h*) Tailoring and Sewing.
(*i*) Domestic Economy.

(Other subjects may be added to this list from time to time.)

The Head Masters assembled further resolved to reduce the limit of the Matriculation from 16 to 14.

The Conference of the Managing Committees which followed in its wake, evinced a keen desire to adopt the scheme and showed robust optimism by definitely giving up the policy of perpetual begging of doles from Government. The written replies of the schools show that there is a universal concensus of opinion that a system of vocational education should be immediately adopted in all schools as is shown by the following abstract statement showing the number of schools desiring to take up different subjects.

Scientific Subjects.

Subjects.		Number of Schools.
(*b*)	Drawing and Practical Geometry ..	116
(*c*)	Mensuration and Surveying ...	97
(*d*)	Experimental Mechanics ...	39
(*e*)	Elementary Science (Physics and Chemistry) ...	73
(*f*)	Hygiene	96
(*g*)	Botany	25
(*h*)	Manual Training	25

Vocational Subjects.

(A)	Agriculture and Gardening	91
(B)	Carpentry	118
(C)	Smithy	31
(D)	Typewriting and Book-keeping	87
(E)	Short-hand	34
(F)	Spinning and Weaving	247
(G)	Tailoring and Sewing	95
(H)	Music	26
(I)	Domestic Economy	23

	Subjects.	Number of Schools.
(J)	Telegraphy	10
(K)	Iron and Tin works	1
(L)	Physical Geography	1
(M)	Nature-study	1
(N)	Needle-work	1
(O)	Commercial Geography	1
(P)	Miscellaneous subjects	18

Some of our "popular" representatives who were present at these conferences lost no time to take the wind out of the sail of the University programme, and at once brought forward a motion for the transference of schools from the jurisdiction of the University to a far more benevolent Secondary Board of Education, to be created by legislative wisdom at some distant date, which by a touch of its magic wand would convert 'slave mentality' into an adventurous spirit of industrial captainship. They forgot the final admonition of the Vice-Chancellor, "try to adjust yourself to the changed circumstances; if you can do it you will live, if you cannot you will die." They forgot that Non-co-operation demanded an immediate solution of the problem of vocational education. They probably did not realise the financial stringency of the Government of Bengal which could not impel the Government to create immediately a Secondary Board of Education, apart from all questions of the passing of the Calcutta University Bill, with the necessary promise of a financial guarantee, the award of compensation and therefore, inevitable delay.

While our popular representatives have discussed the question and passed resolutions, large-hearted and public-spirited citizens have come forward to help the country in its hour of trial. Babu Prankrista Chatterjee, one of our coal princes, has made over his school at Ikhra with buildings and 100 bighas of land together with an annual grant of 1,800 rupees charged upon his estate for the purpose of starting a mining school for the benefit of the students

of the University in a letter which will amply repay perusal:

115A, AMHERST STREET, CALCUTTA,
The 1st September 1921.

To

THE HON'BLE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE,
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.

SIR,

For some time past I have entertained a strong desire to open up facilities for instruction in Mining in this Presidency. I feel much attracted by your successful efforts to promote scientific and technical training by the establishment of the University College of Science and Technology, and I venture to approach you in the hope that my humble offer of assistance in the direction indicated will receive favourable consideration at the hands of the University authorities.

I have maintained for many years at Ikhra (near Raneegunj) a school named Basanti-Bejoy H. E. School, which has been recognised by the University as qualified to impart instruction up to the Matriculation standard. The School is very largely residential and has, I venture to think, a record of successful work to its credit. The school grounds occupy an area of nearly thirty bighas on which stand the school building and the hostel for students and teachers. Ikhra is situated in the very heart of the coal district and is an obviously suitable place for the establishment of a Mining School.

It is my desire that the University may establish a University School of Mines at Ikhra; the beginning may be modest, but doubtless there will be considerable development before many years elapse. With this object in view, I am prepared to make over to the University in perpetuity the following properties:—

(1) One hundred bighas of land at Ikhra (Value—about Rs. 50,000).

(2) The Basanti-Bejoy H. E. School with its furniture and appurtenances to be managed and maintained by the University and to be developed into a University School of Mines.

(Value of buildings and furniture—about Rs. 75,000.)

NOTE.—I shall complete the buildings now in course of erection and put in order the existing buildings (Estimated cost—about Rs. 10,000).

(3) Rupees Ten thousand in cash for the equipment of a Laboratory suitable for mining students.

(4) An annual grant of Rs. 1,800 charged upon the estate left by my late father, Babu Bejay Gobinda Chatterjee under the terms of his will.

(Capitalised value Rs. 30,000.)

The Institution should be placed by the University under the management of a Committee composed as follows:—

1. The Vice-Chancellor of the University, President, *Ex-officio.*

2-3. Two Members of the Senate (elected annually).

4. One Member of the Faculty of Science (elected annually).

5. One Member of the Faculty of Engineering (elected anuually).

6-7. One University teacher in Geology and one University teacher in Mining (elected annually by the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Science).

8. One Member to represent the Department of Industries (annually nominated by the Minister in Charge).

9. Director-General of Geological Survey of India, *Ex-officio.*

10. The Head of the Institution, *Ex-officio.*

11. One representative of the staff in the General Department of the Institution (annually elected by them).

12. One representative of the staff in the Mining Department of the Institution (annually elected by them).

The Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee shall always be a Member of the Committee, if he has not otherwise a seat thereon.

There shall in addition be an Advisory Board which shall also act as a Board of Visitors. The Board shall be constituted annually by the Senate and shall include one representative of the Department of Mines of the Government of India and one person possessing intimate knowledge of the working of mines.

As soon as this offer is accepted by the Senate, I shall take the necessary steps to execute the requisite deeds in favour of the University.

Yours sincerely,
PRANKRISTA CHATTERJEE.

All honour due to him. "For Greeks a blush, for Greece, a tear."

IN MEMORIAM

Sir Rashbehari Ghosh.—An extra-ordinary meeting of the Senate held on the 19th of March, 1921, mourned the death of

Sir Rashbehary Ghose on the 27th of February, 1921. A scholar of world-wide renown, a jurist without a compass and the Dean of philanthropists in India, Sir Rashbehary's life is the most glorious illustration of a purely indigenous product of the Calcutta University. A distinguished Indian told Mr. Montague that few, if any, of the best intellects of India have ever crossed the seas. Mr. Montague expressed his surprise and he probably never realised the full significance of the remark. We quote here the eloquent tribute which was offered to the departing soul by Sir Nilratan Sircar, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

It is my melancholy duty to inform you that by the death of the Hon'ble Sir Rashbehary Ghose, the University has lost a most illustrious member and its greatest benefactor.

He was born in the year 1845. After an exceptionally brilliant college career he took his M.A. degree in 1866, and the degree of Doctor of Law in 1884, with the greatest credit, and was appointed Tagore Professor of Law in 1876. He had been a Fellow of this University since 1879, and was a representative of the Faculty of Law on the Syndicate from 1887 to 1889 and again from 1892 to 1894. He was President of the Faculty of Law from 1892 to 1894. He was a representative of the Calcutta University on the Bengal Legislative Council from 1888 to 1891 and was an additional Member of the Imperial Legislative Council from 1891 to 1894, and from 1906 to 1908. He was appointed an Honorary Fellow for life in 1917.

He is the author of the "Law of Mortgages in British India" which is a standard treatise on the subject.

His princely gifts to the University for the promotion of higher scientific education in general and for technological education in particular amount to nearly twenty-three and a half lacs of Rupees.

Sir Rashbehary Ghosh had a unique personality. He was a devoted scholar whose only pleasure in life, next to that of grinding his brain-cells for providing ways and means for the education of his countrymen, was derived from the company of the best authors of the world. He was our foremost lawyer whose strenuous work and high attainments made the position of the bar what it is to-day. As a leader, he was the most sympathetic, sacrificing and independent, holding the soundest views and

opinions on important questions of the day. He was one of the greatest of living philanthropists, as his munificent gifts not only to the Calcutta University but to some sister educational institutions amply testify. He was, certainly, the foremost figure in whatever sphere he moved.

Sir Rashbehary Ghose represented in himself the best conceivable results of the operation of western education, as imparted through our Universities, on the oriental mind. He was pre-eminently a man of the highest culture and, as I said on another occasion, it was his superior culture that made him the leader of educated India of the present day and set him up as the ideal for living plainly, thinking highly, acting nobly and sacrificing whole-heartedly in the interests of his fellow-countrymen.

> The great of old,
> The dead but sceptered sovrans
> Who shall rule from their urns.

* * *

Col. Sarbadhikari.—Scarcely did the country recover from the rude shock it received at the death of Sir Rashbehary Ghose, it became much poorer in leadership and guidance by the untimely death of Lt.-Col. Suresprasad Sarbadhikari who was also a pure indigenous product of this University.

Col. Sarbadhikari's professional career extending from 1891 to 1921, was an interesting story of the steady rise to the chief pinnacle of fame by deep devotion to study and steady practical work. As the founder of the Carmichael Medical College, the first non-official Medical College in India—as the originator and the organiser of the Bengal Ambulance Corps which subsequently developed into the Calcutta University Corps, Col. Sarbadhikari's name will go down to posterity as a great friend of Bengal. Sir Nilratan Sircar, a great friend of his, thus analysed the traits of his character before the Senate.

He always lived in the self-consciousness of the responsibility for performing some great mission in life; and on one occasion about fifteen years ago when some prominent professional friend drew his attention to his physical infirmity, he retorted in his own characteristic language "I refuse to die, I have so much to do in this life." He lived in the strength of his hope. But his frail body, which in spite of several anatomical and

physiological defects carried out for fifty-five years the mandates of his masterful mind, began to waver at last. The candle had been burning at many ends. The inevitable came on the morning of the 10th of March. The memory that he left, though the saddest, is yet the most fragrant, the most invigorating and the most hope-inspiring. The gap left by him will not be filled up soon. The scar, caused by his severance from our midst, will draw many a sigh before it is healed up.

* * *

Chandrabhushan Maitra.—By the death of Chandrabhusan Maitra, the Assistant Registrar of the Calcutta University, the University lost the services of an extremely valuable and faithful servant. He came into the University at a time when the Syndicate found it impossible to exercise any restraint over the expenditure and during the 12 years that he was in our service he made a speciality in checking the expenses in every department of the University. He was in harness till the very last moment when he was carried off by a sudden attack of Influenza. The Senate granted to his helpless and bereaved family (*i*) a lump sum of Rs. 1,000 and an allowance of Rs. 50 a month to his widow for life. (*ii*) A further allowance of Rs. 25 for each of his minor sons till the attainment of majority was also granted.

* * *

Professor J. N. Dasgupta.—By the death of Professor J. N. Dasgupta the Senate has lost the services of an eminent educationist; the Post-Graduate Department, a deeply erudite scholar; the student community, a loving teacher; and the country a specimen of that old world courtesy which is becoming rarer and rarer every day amidst the ceaseless onrush of events and the assertion of arrogant claims by the undeserving. Born in 1869, young Dasgupta entered the Presidency College in 1882, passed the B.A. Examination with First Class Honours in English and History and after having obtained a State Scholarship joined the Balliol College, Oxford, in 1886. Mr. Dasgupta took Honours in History and Jurisprudence at

Oxford and was called to the Bar in 1890. Like his father, Mr. Dasgupta gave up the bright prospects of a career at the Bar in those days, and was condemned to the P. E. S. as a Professor of English Literature and History at the Dacca College from 1891 to 1894. In 1896 to 1908 Mr. Dasgupta served the Presidency College as a Professor. He officiated as Principal of the Hughly College from 1908 to 1910. His colour stood in the way of his confirmation, and Mr. Dasgupta preferred the quiet life of a Scholar at the Presidency College from 1910 onwards. Lord Curzon's Act of 1904, saw him a Fellow of the Calcutta University which he served in various capacities as a Lecturer, as a Head Examiner, as a Tabulator, as a Reader, and as a member of the Syndicate for seventeen eventful years. In 1919, a reforming Government gave him on the eve of his retirement, a consolation prize in the I. E. S. The University elected him as a delegate to the Empire Universities' Congress at Oxford this year, and Professor Dasgupta passed away in England after a short attack of influenza on the 2nd September, 1921, under circumstances which appear almost tragic,—like his great predecessor Raja Rammohan Roy in "a foreign strand."—We offer our respectful condolences to the bereaved family.

Benefactions to the Calcutta University

The second period of the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, has again been signalised by great benefactions to the University. Sir Rashbehary Ghosh shortly before his death made a bequest of two and a half lakhs of rupees to the University for the purpose of establishing travelling fellowships. His confidence in the University remained unabated till his death as the following extract from his Will will clearly show :—

"3. That three Travelling Fellowships be founded, each tenable for one year, the Fellows to be remunerated from the income of the Fund.

4. That the Fellowships be open only to persons who have been at any time admitted to a Degree in the University of Calcutta.

5. That the Travelling Fellows be nominated by the Board of Management subject to confirmation by the Senate. The Board of Management shall have power to invite applications and shall satisfy themselves as to the general ability of a candidate for Fellowship to profit by a course of study abroad. Each candidate shall be required to submit a general scheme of the work he proposes to undertake during the tenure of his Fellowship.

6. It shall be the duty of each Travelling Fellow to investigate educational methods abroad (that is, outside India) in his special branch of study or to undertake research in any special branch of learning such branch and the seats of learning where the investigation is to be carried on to be determined by the Board of Management in consultation with the candidate. The Fellows shall submit periodical accounts of their work to the Board and supply such other evidence of the progress made by them as the Board may, from time to time, require.

7. Each Travelling Fellow shall, on his return to India, submit to the Board a full report embodying the results of his studies and travels which shall be published by and be the property of the University.

8. The emoluments attached to a Fellowship shall be paid ordinarily in advance in two half-yearly instalments. The Board shall have power however to withhold the payment of the second instalment if the work done by a Travelling Fellow during the first half-year of the tenure of his Fellowship be deemed unsatisfactory by them. A Travelling Fellow may be re-appointed or have his term extended at the discretion of the Board of Management.

9. Of the three Fellowships to be awarded each year, at least two shall be allotted to a Scientific subject.

10. The Senate shall have power, on the recommendation of the Board of Management, to frame supplementary rules for the efficient administration of the Fund. Such rules, however, shall in no wise, conflict with the principle laid down above, nor shall have the Senate power, under any circumstances, to spend any portion of the corpus of the Fund but if one or more Fellowships are not awarded in any particular year on account of lack of suitable candidates or for like reason, the sum unspent may be temporarily invested by the Board and applied in the award of additional Fellowships in any subsequent year."

For the full significance of the gift we shall do well to quote in full the speech of his distinguished pupil, the present Vice-Chancellor.

"I desire to associate myself whole-heartedly with the motion which it is now my duty to place before you for acceptance. I had on more than one ocasion the high privilege to express my personal gratitude and the gratitude of this University to the late Sir Rashbehary Ghose, for his unstinted liberality towards the achievement of our ideal to transform this Institution into one of the foremost Teaching and Research Universities of the civilised world. The present gift will enhance the obligation of every member of this University towards its great benefactor, but to me personally this posthumous gift has a peculiar attraction for more than one special reason. On the 26th December, 1913, at a time when our very existence as a Teaching University, then in its infancy, was seriously imperilled by the activities of friends within and without, I summoned courage to place before the Syndicate a scheme for the institution of Travelling Fellowships. That scheme, after careful scrutiny, met with the unanimous approval of the Syndicate on the 10th Jannary, 1914 and was ultimately sanctioned by the Senate on the 30th January, 1914, for a term of five years. Before, however, the scheme could be carried into execution, Europe was in the throes of a devastating World War. Meanwhile, our financial difficulties increased to such an extent as to render it improbable that the Senate could initiate the scheme even after the cessation of the hostilities. In these circumstances, I approached Sir Rashbehary Ghose as a pupil approaches his master without hesitation; he not only expressed his approval of the scheme but, with unbounded generosity, promised to place at the disposal of the University, for this purpose, a sum of two and a half lacs of rupees by his testament. The scheme as set out in the Schedule to his Will was drafted by me and embodies in a modified form the substance of the scheme sanctioned by the Senate on the 30th January, 1914. This great gift is of immense value from two special stand-points. In the first place, it will enable the Senate to carry out the scheme of Travelling Fellowships, so as to establish that co-operation between the East and the West, which may rightly be regarded as essential for the steady progress of India on the path of civilisation. We cannot minimise, much less ignore, the value of the contributions of the West in every department of human activity. It is thus of vital importance that the most gifted men amongst us should come into contact with the most eminent

scholars of the West and investigate educational methods in their speci branches of study and research in the great centres of learning and cultu beyond, the limits of India. In the second place, this posthumous gi furnishes incontrovertible evidence that Sir Rashbehary Ghose retained t the last his confidence in this University. I make special reference to thi aspect of the matter, because a persistent rumour has been current for som time past that a desperate attempt was made by more than one well-wishe of this University to create in the mind of our great benefactor an im pression that the people, whom he had trusted with the earnings of a life time, had proved themselves unworthy of his confidence. *This story, i true, would only indicate the depth of possible depravity of human nature on the other hand, the story, if false, indicates the existence of men, wh are not slow to calumniate even the mighty dead.* For, do we not know that Sir Rashbehary Ghose would be the last man in the world to listen t idle tale-bearers, or be guided by them in his actions? Let us hold hi memory in affectionate reverence for his princely benefactions and for th opportunity he has afforded us to work for the everlasting good of successiv generations of our countrymen."

* * *

The timely bequest of Rs. 5,60,000 made by Kumar Guruprasad Sing of Khaira—the remnant of the capitalised value of the State which the Kumar wrested from the grasping hands of interested persons, has enabled the University to direct its activities in fresh channels. By the consent of his wife, Rani Bageswari, a mere *spes succesionis* has been converted into a reality and the University has found it possible to establish five new chairs in the departments of Phonetics, Physics, Chemistry, Agriculture and Fine Arts. Including these five chairs we shall have now in this University twenty-one chairs, all of which have been established—barring the Tagore Professorship of Law—during the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Sir Henry Sumner Maine in his Convocation Speech of 1865 foresaw the gradual conversion of the University into a national seat of learning and said as follows:—"I attach an importance to that gift beyond its actual money value as being possibly the first instalment of a series of benefactions

on which the University will ultimately have to depend, if ever it becomes a national institution." The full significance of the Khaira gift has probably not been realised by our countrymen and the speech of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee before the Senate will be read with interest by all scholars who amidst the noise and bustle outside, amidst the economic strife in the country and amidst the seething discontent among all classes of men, are feeling downhearted and are dreaming of evil days to come.

" Before the Senate is called upon to accept the recommendation of the Syndicate with regard to the endowment created by the late Kumar Guruprasad Singh of Khaira, I would like to recall for a moment the circumstances which have led up to the fruition of this great gift. On the 25th August, 1919, now nearly two years ago, the Kumar made an endowment in favour of the University in respect of valuable properties, subject to the life-interest of his wife. Kumar Guruprasad Singh was a highly gifted gentleman with liberal views about the imperative needs of the development of high education in this country, although he himself had not been the recipient in a large measure of what passes under the name of education for purposes of University Examinations and Degrees. When I first met him, I found that he possessed a keen appreciation of the value of the developments which had been accomplished in this University in recent years, both in the direction of the investigation of the past civilisation of India and of the future expansion of her material resources by means of original scientific research. I had discussions with him on many an occasion as to the lines on which the University could be developed in future; but though he had his own views, he preferred to leave the mode of utilisation of his gift absolutely at my discretion. The decree of the High Court whereby the gift was made to the University consequently stated in explicit terms, that the ultimate use of the Fund is to be carried out by the University under the direction of and according to a scheme to be framed by myself. The Senate accepted the gift on the condition mentioned in the decree, by a resolution dated 3rd January, 1920, which was modified on the 3rd June, 1921. After the death of the Kumar, negotiations took place, as you are aware, between the Rani and the University with the result that in settlement of all claims under the decree the University was placed in a position to receive forthwith five and a half lacs of rupees for immediate use. The arrangement between the Rani and the

University has been sanctioned by the High Court and we are at the present moment in possession of the War Bonds which constitute the major portion of the Fund. As soon as the settlement was effected, it became incumbent on me to frame the scheme. Let me assure you that I was fully sensible of the grave responsibility cast upon me by reason of the unbounded confidence reposed in me by our generous founder and the scheme, which is now to be reported to you, has been framed by me with the utmost care in the light of such judgment and experience as I possess. I can only express the hope that this great gift will enable us to open a new chapter in the history of the development of the University. The Senate will be in a position to make appointments forthwith to five new Professorships. I have placed in forefront the Chair of Indian Fine Arts, lest we should forget the past greatness of India in the history of the Art of the civilised peoples of the world. Time will convince those who are unbelievers, at the present moment, that no nation can be great without a soul, and that no University can be truly national unless it blends its activities with the best traditions and the noblest aspirations of the people. The genius of India has manifested itself in diverse directions, but nowhere are the characteristics of that genius more pre-eminent than in the field of Fine Arts, in the field of Indian Painting and Indian Sculpture. You will no doubt recognise that now, as on many previous occasions, we shall be the first amongst the Universities of India to take a new step and the time cannot be far distant when every Indian University will follow our example and establish a Chair of Indian Fine Arts.

The foundation of the second Chair which will be devoted to Phonetics is the first step in the creation of a new department, whose supreme practical importance at the present time was emphasised by the University Commission. But here, again, let me remind you that Phonetics is not a new science, and that in connection with *Vedic* studies, Indian sages, centuries ago, laid the foundation of a Science of Phonetics with remarkable accuracy. Workers in such an attractive field will consequently find ample opportunity to link up the present with the past. The third, fourth and fifth Chairs will be devoted to Physics, Chemistry and Agriculture. In the department of Physics, we have already three Professorships, one due to the generosity of Sir Taraknath Palit and two due to the munificence of Sir Rashbehary Ghose. In the department of Chemistry also, we have similarly three Chairs on the two foundations just mentioned. But we have not yet had a Chair devoted

specially to Agriculture, though one of the Chairs, founded by Sir Rashbehary Ghose, is for Botany with special reference to Agriculture. No justification, however, is needed for new Chairs in Physics and Chemistry in view of the ever-widening boundaries of their respective domains, nor can there be a doubt as to the paramount need for a Chair of Agriculture in the University of a province, where agriculture plays so important a part in the daily life of the people.

I need not detain you by reference to the details of the scheme, which you could not but have observed, follows closely the scheme which was framed by me in 1912 and 1913 and was accepted by our two great benefactors—Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbehary Ghose. But a passing reference is needed to the modest emoluments attached to the Chairs, now established, which are precisely on the same scale as the emoluments of the Professorships founded by Sir Rashbehary Ghose. I have solid ground for my firm conviction that notwithstanding the modest scale of salaries, the Senate will be able to secure the loyal co-operation of specialists of the highest intellectual attainments. Bengal is not yet wholly denuded of scholars, who may be willing to devote themselves to the advancement of the great cause symbolised by this University, who appreciate freedom of work and who love independence of thought and judgment. When the history of educational activities of the present times comes to be written by the unbiassed and unprejudiced observer of the future, the name of Kumar Guru Prasad Singh of Khaira will find an honoured place in the Temple of Fame, along with the names of the other great benefactors of this University and the contributions to the advancement of Letters and Science by the holders of the five Chairs now established will spread far and wide the name and reputation of this University."

The scheme framed by the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in pursuance of the decree of the Hon'ble High Court is set out in full for the information of our readers.

The decree of the High Court in the suit of Rani Bageswari Debi against Kumar Guru Prasad Singh of Khaira provides that the ultimate use of the Fund vested in the University is to be carried out by the University " under the direction of and according to a scheme to be framed by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee." This gift was accepted by the Senate by Resolutions dated 3rd January, 1920 and 3rd June, 1921. In

accordance with the provision of the decree, I now hereby frame the following scheme :

I. That the sum be constituted into a fund to be called the " KHAIRA FUND for the promotion of Post-Graduate Teaching and Research."

II. That the sum be invested in such securities as would produce an annual income, whenever practicable, of not less than Rs. 30,000.

Provided that if the Senate should deem it beneficial to the purposes of the endowment as hereinafter declared, they shall be at liberty to invest the proceeds or any part thereof in any form of investment authorised by law or in the purchase or mortgage of landed property within the municipal limits of Calcutta and its suburbs.

III. That five University Professorships or Chairs be established, one for each of the following subjects :

(*i*) Indian Fine Arts.
(*ii*) Phonetics.
(*iii*) Physics.
(*iv*) Chemistry.
(*v*) Agriculture.

IV. That the Chair of Indian Fine Arts be named Bageswari Professorship of Indian Fine Arts ; and that the other four Chairs be named Guruprasad Singh Professorship of Phonetics, Physics, Chemistry and Agriculture respectively.

V. That if the state of the fund at any time should so permit, additional Professorships or Readerships, to be named after Guruprasad Singh, be established in such subjects as may be determined by the Senate on the recommendation of the Board of Management to be constituted as stated hereinafter.

VI. That the salary of each Professor be, as nearly as possible, a sum of Rs. 6,000 annually, and the salary of each Reader be, as nearly as possible, a sum of Rs. 3,600 annually, to be paid out of the income of the Fund ; but that it be open to the Senate to supplement such sums from the University or other funds at their disposal from time to time.

VII. That the Professorships and Readerships be always filled by Indians (that is, persons born of Indian parents as contradistinguished from persons who are called statutory natives of India).

VIII. That the appointments to the Professorships and Readerships be made by the Senate upon the nomination of the Board of Management

to be constituted as stated hereinafter, and the power of removal of Professors and Readers by the Senate, if occasion should ever arise, be exercised only after the matter has been considered by the said Board on full opportunity afforded to the person concerned to make his defence.

Provided that the first appointments to the five Chairs specified hereinbefore shall be made by the Senate on the recommendation of the Syndicate.

IX. That every person elected to one of these Chairs, whether he has been educated in this country or elsewhere may in the discretion of the Senate, be required, before he enters upon the execution of the duties of his office, to receive special training during a period of not less than one year and not more than two years, under specialists in Europe, America, Japan or such other place outside India as the Senate may, in each instance, upon the recommendation of the Board, determine ; and that during such period the Professor-elect be paid, from the income of the fund such allowance as the Senate may, upon the recommendation of the Board, determine, so as to enable him to receive a thorough theoretical and practical training in his special subject.

X. That it be the duty of each Professor

(*a*) to carry on original research in his special subject with a view to extend the bounds of knowledge ;

(*b*) to take steps to disseminate the knowledge of his special subject with a view to foster its study and application ;

(*c*) to stimulate and guide research by advanced students and generally to assist them in Post-Graduate work so as to secure the growth of real learning among our young men.

XI. That, subject to the general principles outlined above, the mode of appointment of Professors and Readers, the terms and conditions under which they are to hold office and the manner in which they are to discharge their duties, be determined by rules to be framed by the Senate in that behalf from time to time on the recommendation of the Board.

XII. That the Senate do, on the recommendation of the Board, make adequate provision for laboratories, museums, workshops, appliances and all other requisites essential for the due discharge of their duties by the Professors and Readers.

XIII. That the balance which may remain out of the annual income of the Fund, after payment of the salaries and allowances of the Professors and Readers as provided above, may, on the recommendation of the Board, be applied either in whole or in part, in the equipment and maintenance of laboratories and museums in so far as such equipment and maintenance may be necessary for the accomplishment of their work by the Professors and Readers.

XIV. That the Professorship, if any, in Physics, Chemistry, Agriculture and such other like subjects shall be deemed attached to the University College of Science and Technology and the Professors in such subjects shall be *Ex-officio* Members of the Governing Body of that Institution.

XV. That notwithstanding the provisions hereinbefore made, the Senate shall be at liberty to pledge temporarily and for a period not exceeding two years, a sum not exceeding three lacs out of the securities of the Fund to borrow money to carry on Post-Graduate Teaching and Research.

Provided that no such pledge shall be effected without the previous written consent of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

Provided further that this clause shall be in operation for a term of five years, but the period may be extended from time to time by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for such additional periods as he may consider necessary.

XVI. That the Board mentioned above do consist of the following persons, namely,

The Vice-Chancellor of the University as President, *Ex-officio*.

The Dean of the Faculty of Arts.

The Dean of the Faculty of Science.

The Professors appointed as above to the Chairs of Indian Fine Arts, Phonetics, Physics, Chemistry, Agriculture and such other subjects as may be determined from time to time.

A University Teacher nominated by the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts.

A University Teacher nominated by the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Science.

Two members of the Senate nominated annually by the Senate.

One respresentative of the Founder nominated annually by the Senate.

Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, N.L., D.Litt.

Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, Kt., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.

Sir Nil Ratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., D.Sc., Ph.D.

The four members of the Board of Management last named are and each of them is authorised to nominate his or their successor or successors; and this power of nominating a successor or successors shall be inherent in every such original or derivative member.

XVII. That all matters whatsoever relating to or in any way arising out of this endowment shall, in the first instance, be considered and reported on by the Board of Management before they are considered and decided on by the Syndicate and the Senate.

The Proceedings of the Board shall be laid before the Syndicate, who shall transmit them for confirmation to the Senate (with such observations, if any, as may be considered necessary).

* * *

The University has been fortunate enough to secure further assistance from the general public as will be evident from the creation of the following endowments during the current year :—

(1) An offer of Rs. 2,000 was accepted from Srimati Annapurna Debi for the award of a gold medal to be called *Annapurna Debi Medal* to be made over to the candidate who stands first in the M.A. Examination in Bengali.

(2) An offer of Rs. 3,700 was accepted from Babu Binaykrishna Gupta on behalf of himself and his brother, the heirs and executors of the estate of Nandalal Gupta deceased, for founding one monthly scholarship of Rs. 10 to be known as the *Nandalal Gupta Scholarship* to be awarded to the student of the Carmichael Medical College who, after passing the First M.B. Examination in Pharmacology continues his studies in the same College for the final degree.

(3) The *Adharchandra Mukerji Prize* fund of Rs. 500 has been created out of collections made by the former students and friends of Prof. Adharchandra Mukerji, Emeritus Professor of History in the Scottish Churches College. The prize of books will go to the student who stands first in Honours History at the B.A. Examination.

(4) An offer of Rs. 3,000 was accepted from *Babu Symacharan Ganguli* for the award of two annual prizes of Rs. 52-8 in lump sum—one to the student who takes the first place in the Honours Examination at the B.A. Examination in Economics and another to the student who takes the first place in the Honours Examination in Physics at the B.A. Examination.

(5) An offer of Rs. 4,800 was accepted from Babu Jatindranath Biswas for founding a scholarship in memory of his father, the late *Babu Rashbehari Biswas* of the value of Rs. 7 per month to be awarded to the best student in Matriculation from the schools in the district of Jessore.

(6) *The Jagattarini medal.*—A gold medal up to the value of Rs. 200, for which a sum of Rs. 3,000 has been offered by the Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, will be bestowed once in two years on that individual, who not having been a recipient of the medal during the preceding 10 years, shall be deemed by the Syndicate, as most eminent for original contribution to letters or science written in the Bengali language. This endowment is worthy of note, because it has been associated with the name of one who has conferred upon the University the best gift it has ever received—*viz.*, her son, the present Vice-Chancellor. Its importance is further enhanced by the fact that it is practically for the first time that the University has departed from the orthodox method of making awards on the results of its examinations. Like the famous Universities of the West, the University of Calcutta has taken upon itself the privilege

of honouring men and women of letters and science who have made their mark in the domain of thought. Truly does the University stand by its motto, "Advancement of Learning" and is attempting to shake off the lethargy of hide-bound conservatism.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1921

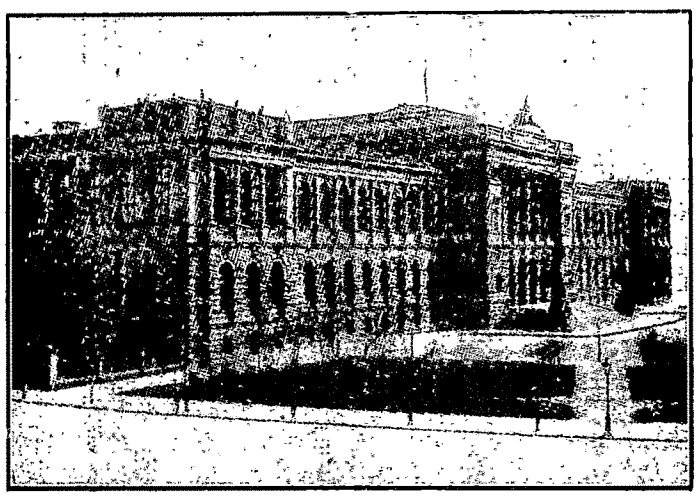
THE UNIVERSITY OF STRASBOURG

From a certain point of view, the University of Strasbourg presents features that are unique among the modern universities of the world. It had been founded before 1870, when the Treaty of Paris, concluded at the termination of the Franco-Prussian war, transferred Alsace-Lorraine, and with it the University of Strasbourg, to the Germans. It was a very small and insignificant centre of learning, at that time. The Germans, however, with their accustomed zeal for university education based on a genuine appreciation of the benefits that accrue from it to the nation at large, proceeded to rebuild the University on a grand scale and made it a real centre of German *Kultur* (in the best sense) in the newly ceded territories. When, therefore, Alsace-Lorraine came back to the French and with it the University of Strasbourg, the latter had literally a firm foundation to work upon, and I was naturally interested to see what results these remarkable and absolutely unique vicissitudes of fortune had had on the University. These results seemed to be well worthy of note and I have felt, accordingly, that a brief account may not be unsuitable to the pages of the "Calcutta Review."

Remembering that Strasbourg was only a provincial town of comparatively small importance in the German empire, one cannot help admiring the zeal and earnestness

with which the German people had proceeded to build up the University. To one accustomed to English ways, it is eminently striking for, on the whole, it may be stated in general terms—at any rate that was my first impression,—that nothing like it exists anywhere in the British Isles, as regards buildings and equipment.

The Central Building stands on a large open plane and was evidently built with an eye to massiveness and durability. But like most things that we have learned to associate with



The Central Building.

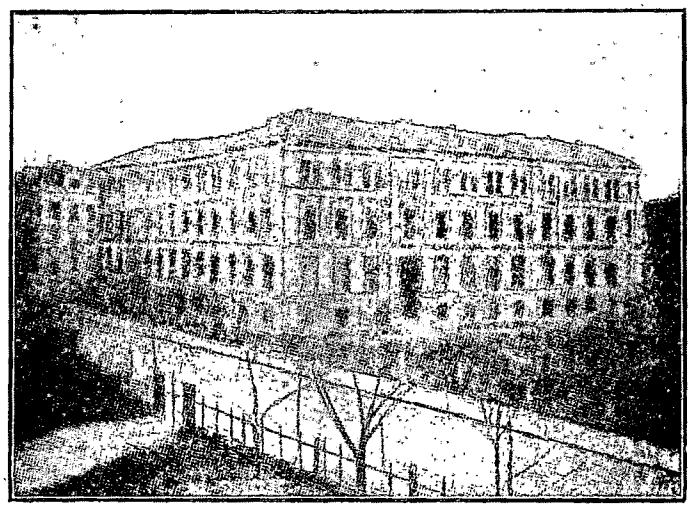
German thoroughness, there was a rift in the lute. There was apparently little heed paid to the question of light and air so that the edifice imposing as it is, is dark and gloomy and seemed to be hardly suitable for class rooms and seminars. There is a huge covered quadrangle in the middle for which, nobody could explain the use. It was probably meant to be used as a meeting place for the University as a whole, but if so, it now only serves to heighten the gloom of the entire structure and appeared almost haunted by the spirit of German Imperialism.

For it appears that in the government of the University, the Germans had made the mistake of importing this spirit

with their accustomed thoroughness. They had filled the University with only German Professors and teachers, native Alsatians and Frenchmen being practically relegated to a few subordinate posts. This was an academic wrong. This attempted, in fact, at intellectual subjugation of a people, whom they apparently wished to make one with themselves. It seemed to be ill-assorted with the expensive style in which the University had been laid out and betokened a defective power of that larger vision which can alone make human kinship a reality and is, moreover, of the essence of that true *Kultur* of which the German people claimed to be protagonists. The result in the University of Strasbourg has been almost catastrophic: the buildings, museums and equipments are there but the entire personnel has changed with the change of Government. The few Alsatians that were previously occupying only subordinate posts have been promoted, others of Professorial rank who had gone to other Universities—because there was no opening for them in their own—have been brought back, while the remaining posts have been filled by French Professors of note, so that there is nothing left of the German University of Strasbourg—except a lifeless appendage, brick and mortar and the like—for good and evil. It was indeed, disappointing in the extreme, to find this state of things, for one was expecting to find a German University, being taken over and being *gradually* transformed into one representing French ideals, so that the points of agreement and difference could be noted and good points of both conserved. Instead of this, we have a *French* University, modelled *anew* in respect of courses and personnel with nothing left of German ideals and traditions.

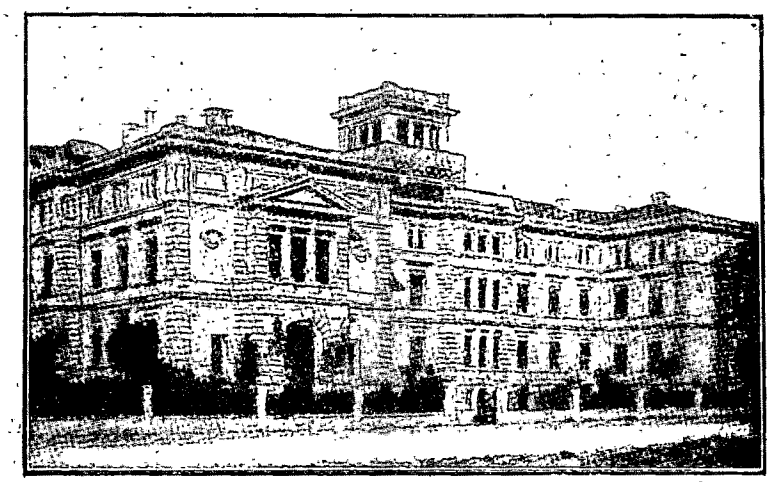
Although, however, from the point of view of one who wished to study and compare the German and French University methods *in situ*, the present state of things is unsatisfactory, the University is well worth a visit, inasmuch as the arrangements made are on a line with the ideal of German thoroughness, the French nation having evidently

made up its mind—inspite of the prevailing financial stringency, to utilise to the utmost the grand buildings of which they have come into possession. In some cases as in those of Zoology and Geology, the equipments are complete, the



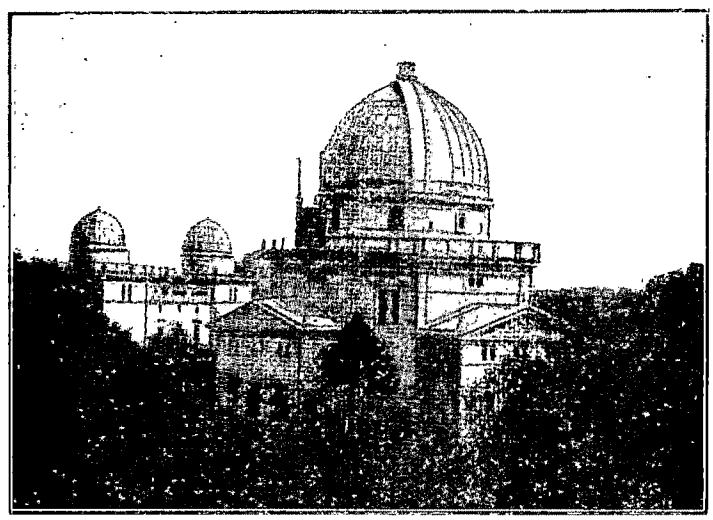
Institute of Zoology.

museums being rich and up to date; while in the case of some others, one is surprised to find the equipments to be of a most meagre description. Especially is this the case in the case of Physics; an imposing building which is meant to be



Institute of Physics.

devoted to Physics seems to have been left practically without any laboratory equipment whatever, while the lecture theatre, a massive structure which must have cost a great deal has nothing like the accommodation that its costs warranted. A considerable portion of the building, moreover, had been devoted to the previous (German) Director's private use. As contrasted with this, I was interested to notice that the present Director Prof. Weiss, an Alsatian who has been brought over from Zurich, in his eager desire to make his department worthy of the building in which it is located is engaged in constructing a most up-to-date laboratory and has even given up his own quarters in the building for this purpose. This incidentally shows what opportunities the Germans missed by not trying to utilise local talent in the working of the University.



The Observatory of Strasbourg.

On the whole, however, the equipments left by the Germans are of an expensive order. The equatorial in the observatory, for instance, is one of the most expensive instruments of its kind and the dome, a stupendous structure which has proved, on that account, difficult to work.

The most remarkable feature of the present university is the *low fees* that are being charged, inspite of depreciated currency. The 'entrance' fee is only 20 francs a year, the annual Library fee 10 francs, while the examination fees for the highest degree (doctor's) is only 100 francs (about £2).

One of the most interesting institutions of the University is the Committee appointed to look after foreign students (Comité de Patronage des Etudiants étrangers). This Committee supplies all necessary informations to foreign students desirous of joining the University, helps them in all their difficulties and finds lodgings, etc., for them, according to their means (introducing them to families which are ready to accommodate them). It also looks after them in their illness and by constant attention makes them feel at home in a strange land. It is obvious that every University which admits foreign students should possess such an organisation.

As to teaching facilities and courses, it is unnecessary to go into details. Suffice it to say that the programme of work attempted is more extensive and the professorial and the teaching staff employed is more numerous than anywhere in the United Kingdom.

D. N. MALLIK

PROSE POEMS

Love Offerings

II

Each of us dreams the dream of life in his own way.
I dream that dream in my Library.

—*Anatole France.*

Look at the tulips—how lovely and sweet! Look at the roses—how fragrant and fair! Look at human life—how wondrous and varied! But, oh the pity of it—how brief the day of each and all!

*

Heaven is but a moment of self-contentment, and hell but an expression of foolish grief. Come, dearest, come; and with thee bring love and light.

*

To none will I open my bosom in simple trust; to none will I my secrets confide. I shall weep tears of tenderest longing; I shall offer to Love my sweetest songs.

*

Let us battle with Fate, and uproot this sad scheme of things, which giveth crowns to fools and fears to the wise.

*

For me, said the Sāqi, Yesterday hath no meaning; Tomorrow hath no existence I only live in the fulness of To-day.

*

Sing, O Sāqi! And with thy song carry off the gloom of facts; for is not grief the fixed star of man, and joy his fleeting dream?

*

Childhood! O, rapturous ramble in a timeless garden. Free from carking, whispering care—fetterless. Mother's radiant smile—its golden treasure. Her loving kiss—a deathless memory. Fear mars not its joys—naught of worldly commerce sullies its innocence. Childhood! Ah, how the heart looks back to thee, revels in thee, clings to thee—when sinks life's sun, and the shadows begin to fall!

*

On this azure vault, in golden letters, is inscribed "Naught but goodness lives; naught but virtue triumphs."

*

I loathe the Church, the Temple, and the Mosque—I loathe them all—for are they not unyielding barriers, dividing walls? Break them down, O beauteous Spirit of Truth, and in thy fold, unite us all!

*

Remote from the world's echoes; far from its strife; and heedless of the hours that come and go—I cherish thy love, I dream of thee!

*

I have stored up tears; I have garnered griefs. Custodian and treasurer! what wealth of sorrows my heart conceals!

*

One fond hope, one sweet illusion, I shall ever cherish, never forsake; that thou and I will some day be one undivided, indivisible whole.

*

What can cure the love-sick heart? Naught but the music of thy voice; naught but the magic of thy kiss. These alone may restore this heart.

*

Of the Temple of Liberty I dreamed; and a Temple worthy of man I saw. On its portal I found these words inscribed

in letters of gold: For me what streams of blood shed; what noble war waged; effort Herculean; endeavours superhuman; centuries of struggle, of pain, of anguish; of alternating hope and despair! What a toll have I exacted! What hecatombs of victims have been raised on my account! Crimson is the path that leads to my altar—perilous, sorely-trying the way along it. None but the brave have built my Temple; none but the free dare enter therein.

*

I have vowed a vow, a solemn vow—to abstain from wine: but the Spring stirreth joy, and awaketh many dreams. O Sāqi, pass me the cup, and lull my vow to sleep.

*

Can tears bring the Loved Ones back? Can prayers lure death away? No! Unheeding Fate moveth on with purpose fixed and strong.

*

Hand round the cup, for it chaseth away fear, drowneth grief, setteth the heart aglow with joy. Hand round the cup, for it fanneth the fire in Youth and softeneth the burden of Age.

*

Shall I lift the veil and show my bleeding heart? Shall I voice my silent sorrows—my soul-shattering griefs? No, sacred are they, too sacred, for display, or even for expression. Jealously shall I treasure them—that none may hear or know of them. Not even you, my love, life's dearest gift and only joy. Heart, oh heart! thou art their custodian. Night, oh night, *thou*, their confidante.

*

Mourn not the flight of things: keep pace with the march of Time. Enjoy, for Fate ever flingeth slings and arrows: Death ever knocketh at the door.

*

In the battle that ever rages; amid the mist that never lifts—'tis thy light that never fails; 'tis thy love that ever cheers the broken spirit of man.

*

Faultless in beauty; peerless alike in heaven and earth—for doth not even the moon fear comparison, and, in thy presence, veil herself in a mantle of clouds?

*

Illusions die, but anon they sprout again. Dear sweet illusions of life—shall I crush them? Shall I kill them? No! I shall love them; I shall cherish them though they last but a day.

*

There is one dream worth dreaming; one thought worth thinking; one Love worth loving with all the strength of Love. 'Tis the dream, the thought, the love of thee! Mightier than all that life offers, sweeter far than all that life gives—thy love elates, inflames, transmutes the son of man, as naught else can beneath Heaven's azure dome.

*

Thou, O wondrous Earth, how lightly dost thou bear the stress of Time! How serene, how imperturbable thou seemest! Dost thou watch the kaleidoscopic show of life? Dost thou pity the fate of man? Hast thou any gospel to proclaim, any axe to grind? Naught else have I to teach; naught else to preach: that thou shouldst ever cling to love, ever fight for light.

*

Hope—is there any hope to nurse? Joy—is there any joy to court? Soon—too soon, alas—dieth the one, and decayeth the other.

*

Hast thou for me no message of gladness, no tidings of joy, O morning breeze? For thee these wakeful eyes

count the stars by night; for thee this sorrowing heart longs and bleeds by day.

*

Ah! those days of youth, those passionate yearnings of love—those faded flowers and withered leaves! What sad memories and bitter pain they evoke and inflict. Heavy is life's burden, and tragic is life's end.

*

I seek that gift, O God, that will enkindle the spirit divine, and fill my heart with unfailing light. I seek thy all-embracing Love.

*

Cheer thy weary soul, for griefs will die and pain will end. Cheer thy weary soul; for a higher life awaits thee; a brighter world than eye can see, or heart can imagine!

*

That imaginary crown of laurel which youth weareth and loveth to display—How swiftly doth the Sun of Life scorch it all!

*

Let me make a world of my imaginings—a world free from hope, fear and strife. There I shall dream the dream of love! There I shall laugh at the farce of existence!

*

I have quaffed the mystic cup; I have joyed in the sacred feast; I have revelled in thy vision; I have naught else to seek. Break, O break, the fetters, and set me free.

*

Amidst the worldly tumult one clear voice I hear; amid the encircling gloom one clear light I see. The light is naught but *Thee*; the voice is none but *Thine*.

*

In the midst of joy I have often wondered why my heart beats with grief; in the presence of beauty, why I feel keen, intense regret? Is it grief for joys gone beyond recall? Is it sorrow for the impending fate which threatens all.

*

Once, and once only, I held happiness in my hand and felt it mine; but alas! it fled, and fled beyond my call. Pass me the soul-entrancing cup, and justify, O Sāqi, the ways of God to man.

*

Beyond the valley of the shadow lies the shimmering land of Beauty, where none but the discerning can enter, where none but they can enjoy. There is no light nor darkness, as in the twilights of time, but fulness of life, fulness of light, fulness of love divine. There is the sound of heavenly harmonies to charm the ears: visions of beauty, to gladden the eyes. Spirit of Beauty! Lead, oh lead us to thy land.

*

Thou art fairer than all that is fairest on Earth; more beautiful than all that is beautiful in Heaven. Thou art the vision of joy and loveliness; the paradise of poets and kings. Thou art love—the priestess of the soul—life's reigning Queen.

*

Sobbingly and sighingly said the Wind: I pass swiftly alas, too swiftly, away. No vestige, nothing, is left of me. Laugh not, O heedless traveller; thou, too, wilt share my fate, and thou too, like me, without a trace, wilt swiftly pass away.

*

Youth has flown! Even its memories are fast evanishing! Oblivion—lo, there, life's flower and fruit!

*

What bedews the eyes with tears and evokes unnumbered sighs? Naught but love's inexpressible anguish, life's unutterable griefs.

*

The stars have set, the day has dawned, the caravan stands ready to depart. Come, Beloved! Come, let us kiss ere we separate.

*

I have waked to the realities of life; I have shrunk from their touch; I have thirsted for things beautiful; I have dreamed of things divine: but still, alas, dark, dark is the night, and far, far the goal.

*

Name and fame, blame and shame. What are they but idle chatter, foolish talk? A cup, a lute, a fair and frolic maid —nothing sweeter, nothing lovelier can the fates bestow.

*

Why these sighs and these tears, O heart? Tell me why? Yesterday, sure was I of love; but mist and cloud and plaintive note of sighing adieux—these, O God, these are all I see and hear to-day.

*

Where are those Loved Ones whose ravishing smile lightened life's burden and irradiated life's path? Death hath taken them away; but their memory—Oh! who or what can rob us of that?

*

What are we, dearest, but marionettes strutting across the stage, dancing at another's bidding, playing to another's tune? Fate bringeth us together, and then it severeth—alas, for ever and for ever more.

*

Despite the mist and haze of years; despite the cloud and dust of life—thy memory is my priceless treasure; thy love, my fixed, unchanging star. In dream I greet thy face; in waking hours I mourn thy loss. Reft of those sun-lit days, I live in the realms of silence, in the dead, departed days of yore.

*

What are Temples and mosques but thy Love's abode? What are prayers and hymns but thy Love's litany? All seek *thee*—wise and fool alike; all strive to reach *thee*, though devious be their ways.

*

Thou, O moon, that enfoldest her in thy silvery robe! Thou, O breeze, that playest with her raven, fragrant locks? Thou, O dawn, that greetest her eye-lids, and awakenest her to youth's boundless joys! Will ye not carry my message of Love to her, and bring back to me some message of comfort and of hope?

*

Oft in my ear sounds the poet's plaintive tune: The sport of Fate, alas, is Life's little barque; in sunshine, swift it flies—in storm, deep drops its anchor. And lo! ever and anon it lengthens its cable, Care—while it cruelly shortens Joy.

*

What gift, Oh God, makest thou to us? A calvary to each—a calvary that he must needs climb, on bruised, bleeding knees.

*

I care not for earthly love: ne'er is it wholly free from base alloy. I care not for earthly joy: ne'er is it really free from pain. I care not for earthly ties: they are the merest phantoms, passing dreams. Give me love that outlives life; joy that leaves no pain behind; ties that never strain, never break.

*

Think of me when I am gone—a foolish thought, a childish claim. Some few sighs, some few tears, perhaps—these are all that we can expect. The rest is shadow and gloom.

*

Why this intense yearning? This solemn melancholy, this dumb stupor, this inexpressible agony? What is it that so afflicts the soul? Is it the insufficiency of joy, or the nothingness of human existence, or the fathomless abyss of destiny, or is it the ceaseless, unwearying quest of the great *unknowable*—ever-receding, ever-eluding the grasp of man?

*

All human lives have one, and the same tale to tell: hope, longing, disappointment, death.

*

There is nothing here to live for, nothing to love; nothing worth worrying, nothing worth the chase. It is all vain striving, fruitless pursuit, merest illusion, sorriest farce.

*

Those ruby lips! What wild rapture they have evoked! What tumultuous passion they have aroused! What unbreakable chains they have forged! Joy, hope, longing, treason, betrayal—what earthly joys, what earthly pain those lips betoken!

*

'Tis the season of youth! 'Tis the time of spring! spring with its smiling sky, blossoming trees, flowering gardens and nuptial splendours of vegetation. How sweet and radiant nature looks, folded in her mantle of wondrous hues. Youth and spring! They make one supreme music! List to the merry carolling of the birds, and enjoy the banquet of life: for life rushes on and time flies. Spring! thou inspirest love in the young, and revivest fond memories in the old! Who can resist thy mighty, magical spell; thy all-powerful sway?

*

No second dawn doth youth know; no second birth doth death either. A chequered day of sunshine and of showers, and then eternal sleep in an eternal night. A wasteful jest of Love! What else is human life?

*

One moment of happiness without shadow, one moment of joy without fear. This only would I ask of the gods—if gods there be.

*

Wine, thou daughter of the grape, care-destroyer, soul-inspirer, life-reviver, thou charmer divine! Never can we do without thee—at least in the season of flower and song. Quaff the wine and ease the burden of thy fear, and let the world go its way.

*

Where and how art thou, dearest? Tell me, where and how? My heart is wrung with grief for thee; my eyes have shed unceasing tears; without thee my life hath been one cruel, aching void. Where thou art now, is it anything like the land we live in; is it something sweet, sublime; or is it all oblivion, one continual sleep? Would the drifting clouds, the wailing wind, the shining stars, the crescent moon,—would these confide to us the solemn secrets that encircle life and death?

*

What gift is too precious, what sacrifice too dear, what obstacles too great for love? It scaleth lofty walls, it breaketh iron bars; it defieth the world's judgment; it setteth the human soul aflame. What wreckage, what ruin, strew thy altar, Love—what fortitude, heroism, martyrdom sublime!

*

Come what may! Let the Gods do their worst! I have no fears to fear, and no hopes to thwart.

*

A fierce fire is Love, beyond or above the strength of man. None can kindle, none can extinguish, none can resist its all-consuming flame.

*

Will sorrows cease? will truth triumph? will love be ever a fadeless flower? Not until conquered wrong and conquering right acclaim a world set free.

*

How the fates' shuttles fly, how the threads twist and twine! where is free-will—the philosopher's boast? where the vaunted strength of man?

*

When are we free from pain; when really rid of cares; when truly blessed with peace? Never! Resign—for who can wrestle with fate? Renounce—for is not renunciation the lot of man?

*

One mysterious touch, and the past unrolls itself before the eye—forgotten loves revive, forgotten sorrows bleed. Ah! that vanished world, the world that once was mine.

*

We pray from noon to night; but do prayers avail? Do they bring light in darkness, comfort in despair? They fall, alas, on heedless ears; they baulk the hopes of man.

*

What tragedy lurks in those soft, sad, streaming eyes! Can words express or hand paint it, with the living hues of art? But tears quickly dry, and eyes, bedimmed with tears, grow bright again, and shine with love and joy, as of yore.

*

Like the Flute I neither grow nor ever put forth a bloom. A brief day is all I have and that, forsooth, for singing sorrow and voicing woe.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THE FISCAL POLICY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

The fiscal policy adopted by the English East India Company has been the subject of a controversy. It has been emphatically maintained by some that the Company deliberately set to work to destroy India's manufactures. With equal emphasis it has been maintained on the other side that what is ascribed to deliberate policy on the part of the Company was the inevitable consequence of the Industrial Revolution in England and the unequal fight between the handicraft and the machine product. It is proposed in these few pages to examine the fiscal measures adopted by the Company in Bengal in the early years of the nineteenth century with a view to throw light on some of the causes that drove out Indian products even from our own markets.

The main features of the restrictions on thein ternal and external trade of Bengal as they existed towards the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century may be thus summarised: All goods whether imported from abroad or manufactured within the country were liable to pay a consolidated duty and having once paid that duty were allowed free transit throughout the whole of Bengal. Thus cotton and silk piece-goods and cotton yarn irrespective of the place of their manufacture were charged a fixed duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and the Collectors of Customs were authorised to grant *Rowannahs* or passes on the production of which the traders could claim exemption from further levy of imposts. The country was studded with *chowkis* or subordinate custom houses on passing through which the goods were detained and subjected to a vexatious examination.

It will be observed that the principle of discrimination had not yet found a place in the fiscal policy of the Company.

British and Indian goods paid the same customs duty, were subject to the same restrictions and were in other respects on a footing of perfect equality. But very soon the policy changed and a series of discriminatory measures designed to favour British shipping and British goods followed one another in quick succession. In 1811 goods imported on other than British bottoms were subjected to double the ordinary rates of duty.[1] In 1815 the duty levied on many British imports was lowered and in many other cases the imports were made entirely duty-free. Thus cotton, cotton piece-goods of Great Britain imported into Bengal paid only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. whilst woollens, metals in a manufactured stage, canvas, cordage and marine stores, the produce of the United Kingdom, were allowed the right of free entry.[2] Two years later British goods were further favoured when all metals whether manufactured or unmanufactured obtained a similar privilege.[3] It is worth noticing that the transit duty to which the goods manufactured in India were liable remained unaltered. For instance cotton piece-goods, cotton yarn, raw silk filature, Bengal wound silk paid a duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., Indian copper, steel, quicksilver paid 10 per cent.

In these discriminatory measures an "anxiety to promote British interests" is observable.[4] The policy which animated England at this time was the policy which she had adopted half a century earlier towards the American colonies. There is noticeable in these measures the same anxiety on the part of Great Britain to encourage her exports of manufactured goods, the same desire to obtain the raw materials of colonies and dependencies to the exclusion of her trade rivals. Only there is a difference in the means by which

[1] Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1811.

[2] Bengal Reg. IV, 1815.

[3] Bengal Reg. XXI, 1817.

[4] The Report of the Comm. of 1834 appointed to enquire into the Customs and Post Office system of India.

she set to work to achieve her object. In the older policy which Great Britain had adopted towards the American colonies she used to "enumerate" certain goods, mostly raw materials, which the colonies could sell exclusively to England. With regard to India, however, she pursued the more enlightened policy of encouraging the export of raw materials to Great Britain by a liberal grant of drawbacks.[1]

The effect of these measures was reflected in the trade returns of the period. A word of caution is however necessary in interpreting these returns on account of the complexity and variety of influences to which economic phenomena are subject; it is not fair to ascribe one particular cause to a phenomenon when in reality it is due to the whole complex of causes in operation. The figures for the imports into Bengal during the years 1813-14—1820-21 are as follows:—[2]

Private Trade.

	Rs.
1813-14	1,25,34,738
1814-15	1,17,96,802
1815-16	1,32,45,798
1816-17	1,87,96,053
1817-18	2,55,94,728
1818-19	2,84,55,615
1819-20	1,75,21,977
1820-21	2,24,45,163

Of these imports Great Britain took a rapidly growing share. In the year 1817-18 there was an increase in imports of nearly 70 lacs (taking private trade and Company's trade together) over those of 1816-17 and Great Britain's share amounted to 58 lacs. In the year 1818-19 the increase of private trade over that of the preceding year amounted to 30

[1] A 'drawback' is a refund of some part of the duty on goods on their exportation.

[2] Wilson's Review of the External Commerce of Bengal.

lacs the whole of which came from Great Britain. An examination of the figures for imports of specific British commodities, *e.g.*, copper and nails, piece-goods and woollens which were favoured by the tariff laws of the period discloses equally striking results. The following are the figures for imports into Bengal from all countries including Great Britain during the years 1813-19.[1]

	1813-14	1814-15	1815-16	1816-17	1817-18	1818-19
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Copper and Nails ...	10,48,884	19,66,204	15,67,927	17,00,004	24,80,950	45,53,103
Iron and Ironmongery	2,65,000	3,70,426	5,67,674	7,06,413	8,66,808	6,80,345
Piece Goods ...	4,71,028	4,44,814	6,67,830	9,83,356	19,57,920	34,37,154
Woollens ...	4,20,000	99,416	1,96,224	3,33,675	6,13,124	7,68,943

Great Britain's share during these years was as follows[1]:—

	1813-14	1814-15	1815-16	1816-17	1817-18	1818-19
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs	Rs.
Copper and Nails ...	78,581	3,96,323	4,11,884	5,42,267	8,91,601	17,30,329
Iron and Ironmongery	2,30,547	2,78,746	4,55,078	5,83,610	8,21,433	6,17,089
Piece Goods ...	91,835	43,346	2,61,846	3,13,102	11,20,909	26,55,192
Woollens ...	1,84,521	44,712	1,22,619	2,38,616	5,74,184	7,35,611

These figures show that while Great Britain supplied 7 per cent. of the copper and nails imported into Bengal in 1813-14, in 1818-19 she supplied 38 per cent. In piece-goods her share was 19 per cent. in 1813-14 and 77 per cent. in 1818-19; in woollens her share was 43 per cent. in 1813-14 while it increased to 95 per cent. in 1818-19. In iron and

[1] Wilson's Review of the External Commerce of Bengal.

ironmongery alone the percentage of her share remained stationary. When one remembers that these were precisely the British products which were favoured, the conclusion is irresistible that the tariff was partially responsible for bringing about this state of affairs.

It would perhaps be argued that the increased share of Great Britain in the import trade of Bengal was due to the large scale and hence cheap production that followed in the wake of the Industrial Revolution in England. More particularly, the increase since 1815 might be attributed to the conclusion of the peace with France. That these were amongst the causes in operation must at once be conceded. "The long pent-up stream of English merchandise may be said to have flooded the world at the close of the Napoleonic Wars," says Professor Taussig[1] and India was no exception to this. So much was this onrush of British merchandise feared in the United States of America that the Congress hastened to put on the statute book the Tariff Act of 1816, heavily penalising some of the British imports. While, therefore, it must be admitted that there is some force in these contentions, it must at the same time be remembered that the advantage which the British goods enjoyed in the matter of the tariff was sufficient by itself to enable them to compete with Indian goods in the Indian markets. Speaking of the British piece goods the Customs Committee of 1834 observed "they had been favoured by the customs laws to a degree which might have enabled them to drive the former (Indian piece-goods) out of their own markets had the influence of British machinery been less overwhelming than it really was."[2]

The contention has been put forward that the Indian weaver could not be protected by the imposition of import duties because of a "growing belief on the part of Parliament in freedom of trade which led but a few years later to a very

[1] The Tariff History of the United States, p. 20.

[2] The Report of the Customs Committee of 1834.

large reduction in the import tariff of England itself."[1] But this is certainly not true of the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The Bengal Regulations of 1815 and 1817 afford a very striking contrast to the Act of 1816 adopted by the British Parliament to protect British agricultural interests.

Meanwhile the exports of Bengal piece-goods continued to decline. The consequent decrease in the yield of the export duty levied on these goods drew the attention of the authorities in India to the decline of the Indian cotton manufactures and as early as 1819 the Governor General informed the Court of Directors that many industrious persons had been thrown out of employment. To the credit of the Directors it must be said that they issued instructions[2] to abolish all internal duties on piece-goods and on raw cotton produced in India. But the Governor General was not prepared to go so far as to abolish the duties entirely. What he did was to place British and Indian cotton goods on a footing of equality, both of them being now subjected to a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. (Regulation V, 1823). This measure has been characterised as an act of justice. But this justice was more apparent than real, for Indian cotton was subject to a duty of 5 p.c., cotton yarn to another $7\frac{1}{2}$, the finished product to a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ p.c., and a further duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. was levied should the cloth be dyed after the *Rowannah* had been taken out.[3] The Indian cotton cloth was thus subject to a duty of $17\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. as contrasted with $2\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. levied on the British product. Even in the rules governing drawbacks British goods were favoured. Thus British piece-goods re-exported from India paid one-third the rate of duty leviable on Indian piece-goods.

[1] C. J. Hamilton—The Trade Relations between India and England, p. 205.

[2] From the Court of Directors to the Governor General, dated the 11th June, 1823.

[3] Letter from Lord Ellenborough to the Chairman and Dy. Chairman of the Court of Directors.

The difficulties under which the Indian industries laboured at the time would be, however, only partially realised on a mere review of the difference in the rates of duty leviable on the British and Indian goods. The manner and machinery of collection of the internal transit duties rendered them doubly odious. The illegal exactions of the ill-paid officers, the right of search exercised ruthlessly or waived in consideration of a gratuity, the detention of goods on the pretext of search, the vexatious rules regarding the taking out of the *Rowannahs* or passes made the "profession of merchant unpleasant and disreputable on account of the complete state of dependence in which the most respectable people are placed on the meanest customs house officer." Worse than all these was another effect of a far-reaching character. For fear of encountering one of those numerous custom houses of which the country was full at the time, every little area tried to produce only for its own needs and tended to become self-sufficient. These miserable regulations discouraged large-scale production, and in the words of Trevelyan, encouraged a return to that "barbarous state of things in which everybody is obliged to produce and manufacture everything he requires for his own consumption." It is no justification of this system that the internal trade increased from Rs. 2,34,56,021, in 1809-10 to Rs. 5,23,33,470 in 1831.[1] When a patient recovers in spite of the errors of the physician it does not show that the physician was in the right but that the patient had a particularly good constitution. Much of the success which is attributed to British machinery and British skill was the inevitable result of the conjoint operation of several forces in which tariff discrimination and the hardships and iniquities resulting from the system of internal transit duties played no inconsiderable part. The argument has been put forward that in 1814-15 the British cotton

[1] Observations on the Transit and Town Duties of Bengal by Messrs. C. D'Oyly and H. M. Parker, 1834.

goods competed successfully with the Indian produce in the Java market notwithstanding an import duty of 15 p.c. on the former.[1] But it is forgotten that the Indian goods were handicapped at that time by the accumulated weight of the transit duty levied successively on cotton wool, cotton yarn and finished product, in all amounting to 20 p.c., only a very small portion of which was given as drawback when these goods were exported to Java on foreign bottoms.[2] Indian industries were subject to two destructive forces, the one acting from without and the other from within. Firstly, they had to bear the full force of foreign competition and secondly, they were assailed from within by the ruinous internal duties. The Hon. Fred. John Shore observes on this point: "we have for years been vaunting the splendid triumph of English skill and capital in carrying cotton from India to England, and after manufacturing it there bringing the cloth to India and underselling the natives. Is this any way surprising under such an intolerable system as is above described?"[3]

The circumstances which led to the abolition of this system so ruinous to trade and industry are not without interest. Reference has been made above to the letter of the Court of Directors urging the abolition of internal duties on piece-goods. In 1829 they again wrote on the subject and in 1830 they expressed their opinion in strong terms. They observed: "the great objections to the transit duties appear to us to be more deserving of attention each time we recur to the subject." It appears that in accordance with these repeated instructions the authorities in India contemplated their abolition and proposed to reimburse themselves for the loss of revenue by taxing the seaborne commerce and the imports of metal in particular. This proposal was placed before the

[1] Hamilton—Trade Relations between India and England, p. 203.

[2] See the provisions of Reg. IX of 1810 and Sec. 12, Regulation IV, 1815, read with Regulation III of 1811.

[3] Shore's Minutes on Indian Affairs, Vol. 2, p. 309.

Calcutta merchants for opinion. But as they were not unanimous in their opinion and entertained apprehension that "their constituents in England would be dissatisfied at seeing them assenting to" tax on their commodities, the proposal was dropped.[1] Shortly afterwards Trevelyan published his Report on the Transit Duties and it soon became evident that the system must either be ended or mended. In 1834 Lord William Bentinck appointed a committee to investigate and report on the whole question of customs and transit duties. While this committee was sitting, the then Governor of Agra, the Hon'ble A. Ross on a representation from the Board of Revenue of that presidency abolished the Bareilly Cawnpore and Farukkabad customs house and soon followed up this measure by the abolition of all internal custom houses and the only duty which continued to be collected was that on the merchandise crossing the preventive line established along the frontier of the Agra presidency.[2] The Governor General, Sir Charles Metcalfe, who was not consulted in the matter, had two alternatives before him. He could either rescind the order of the Governor of Agra and re-establish the custom houses or take the more logical course of adopting similar measures for the whole of Bengal. To his lasting credit he adopted the second alternative and thus rid Bengal of a system which had promoted roguery, bribery, perjury, smuggling and had for years put fetters on her trade and industry.

JITENDRAPRASAD NEOGI

[1] Appendix B to the observations on the Transit and Town Duties of Bengal. Extracts from a letter to Sir Ch. Metcalfe dated the 17th October, 1832, by Messrs. G. Chester and H. Sargent.

[2] Extract from a separate letter from India, dated the 2nd March (No. 1), 1836 to the Court of Directors.

VENGEANCE IS MINE

CHAPTER III

"THIS WAS A MAN"

"Please, brush my hair first."

"No, mummy dear, my hair first."

"Nay, brother, but I should be first."

"Look here," said Gunavanti smiling, "have I got four hands? You come one after the other."

"If Jagat wants to be second, of course he may. He calls me 'Devi' and so I should be first by right."

"Very well, you come first, that's all!" and Gunavanti made Tanman sit near her. During the last two or three weeks Gunavanti's loving ways had extended their charm over her neighbours also. Harilal and his daughter respected her as an elder. Tanman spent the whole day at Raghubhai's place. The children played all day long; they romped together, ate together and quarrelled a dozen times in the day—but they never went to bed without making up and becoming friends again. From last night Tanman had insisted on sleeping under the same roof as Jagat.

"Auntie, your boy calls me names."

"What names?"

"But, mummy, she also calls me many names."

"He calls me 'Devi,' 'Tanudi,' and yesterday he read out of his book 'who'll buy my little Tanmankin'!"

"And what names do you give him? Please don't waggle your head so."

"I? Sometimes 'brother' and sometimes 'Kishor' and only rarely do I call him 'my Lord Jaga.'"

"No, mother, she calls me this very often. She tells lies."

"Little children love each other . . . .," Tanman began to recite.

"Oh, do stop your prattle. How can I do your hair nicely if you wriggle about in this manner?"

"What is going on, my child?" asked Ramkisandasji entering. Jagat ran to the old Bawaji, who lifted him up in his arms and put him down after a few moments.

"Welcome, Maharaj!" said Gunavanti. The Maharaj put his staff in a corner and stroking his beard began to walk to and fro in his usual manner. In the meanwhile Tanman had got her hair nicely braided and had arisen from her seat.

"Well, girlie!" asked Bawaji. Tanman turned away her face and going up to the door, muttered, "Oh well, who cares for us? Bawaji has got his Jagat; but we two are not going to care for such old gentlemen, not we." She pouted disdainfully; but she snatched up the Bawaji's staff, as she reached the door and quickly made off with it. Ramkisandasji loved this girl also and when she was bent on some prank like this, he entered into the game with great zest.

"Stop, thief! what are you about? Stop, at once, I say!" shouted Bawaji with difficulty restraining his laughter.

"What have we got to do with you?"; and smiling archly Tanman took away the staff into the courtyard.

"Jagat, my boy, run and bring this little thief to me."

Jagat jumped up and ran after Tanman. They ran all round the house till tired. At last Tanman charged straight at Bawaji, who was ready with outstretched arms to catch her. First she and then Jagat fell into their broad expanse, and Bawaji held them tight to his breast.

"Now, you imp, I have caught you! Just wait, and you shall have a taste of my staff. Have you no respect for old age?" He gave the children a parting embrace before he put them down again.

"Well, Gunavanti, to-day some fellow-disciples of our Teacher have come to the temple from Virpur and there is

going to be a little Bhajan-party.[1] So I am come to take son with me."

"To-day there is a nautch at the court and Raghubhai wanted to take them there."

"No mother, we are not going there. Are we, Tanman?" cried Jagat. He never liked being taken out by Raghubhai.

"Of course not; they shall go along with me. Go, children, and get your things on."

"But you should bring us back at night."

"Oh, no. They shall sleep there."

"Yes, auntie dear, we will stay there." The children walked out arm in arm.

"See, Gunavanti, what a pretty couple they make. God seems to have meant them for each other.

Gunavanti smiled a little and said, "Yes! she is not of our caste, else I would surely have got her for my son." The Hindu mother feels greater pleasure at the marriage of her son than at his birth, and even the talk of his marriage is a perpetual comfort. The children heard the last few words; with a glance at each other they went in to dress.

"Gunavanti, did you hear the latest news?"

"What?"

"You know Champa, the dancing girl, she who has been called out from another place? His Highness is going to keep her permanently in his retinue."

"Oh, nonsense, Bawaji! The poor prince has got a bad name, so people talk anything and everything about him."

Just then a shadow fell across the veranda. A *Sannyasi* had come to beg for alms.

"Mother, pray give something." There was some magic in the tone of that gentle request which did not belong to the yellow robe the man wore. Both turned to look at him and

[1] A party where devotional songs and hymns are sung and some of the episodes from ancient scriptures are recited. These are generally held after nightfall and sometimes have really splendid musical accompaniment.

were astonished. The man was standing there humbly asking for alms, but looked as if he could give alms to thousands. The *Sannyasi* was still a young man. Even among thousands his fair and finely chiselled features might have struck anybody. Arjuna might have looked thus when he carried away his bride Subhadra, or perchance Mahadeva in the full splendour of his youth might have had this grace. His appearance indicated latent powers of the dancing Shiva, which, if unloosened, could dance the whole world into destruction. His lips were ripe and full; usually they were parted by a quiet, loving smile, but they could have curled up with the consciousness of power and could have caused men to tremble to behold them; and looking at the man, one would have thought the latter possibility not at all unnatural. Some earthly lover might have imagined such lips for his beloved, but this man's eyes had a heavenly look in them. They reflected the wisdom, pure and profound, which belongs only to those who meditate upon the Origin of things, or by those who are merged in unceasing contemplation of the Absolute. The light flashing from these eyes had no power, shared by the pure rays of the sun, of conquering darkness and filth. Upon the fair and majestic expanse of the forehead deep thinking and profound study were unmistakably stamped. One might have expected to see such majesty crowning the brows only of that Ocean of Vedantic lore, that super-sage Shankaracharya. Complete self-possession and the peace that comes through it were oozing out at every pore of the man. He stood there like a well-guarded, self-contained fortress without any loophole of either a fault or a foible.

Ramkisandasji knew everybody in the town, so he was surprised to see the stranger and his manifest powers. Gunavanti, full of faith and devotion, stood gazing at the ascetic in mute adoration. His appearance had assured her that he was no ordinary low-caste beggar.

"Maharaj, who are you?" asked Bawaji.

The *Sannyasi* turned his large eyes upon Ramkisandasji. The honest gaze of Ramkisandasji bent low in reverence before the power and wisdom flashing from those wondrous eyes. The mind of even the ignorant Bawaji felt the respect and reverence due to a spiritual superior.

"I! I am but one of the humblest of the servants of the Almighty Lord,"[1] even in these simple words there was a boundless humility and an irresistible charm.

"Where are you from?"

"I am from the village of Varat. Some business of the temple has to be attended here."

"Are you really from Varat? And how is my friend there, Karunanandji?"

"The Swamiji is my Guru. I have come hither at his bidding. But pardon, good Sir; whom have I the honour of addressing?"

So refined and yet so unaffected was his manner, that both Gunavanti and Ramkisandasji felt their respect for him increasing every moment. Ramkisandasji in reply gave his name and with a humility he had never felt in his life before requested the honour of a visit from him at his temple.

"Not to-day, pardon me, Maharaj. When I come again I will surely do myself the honour and pleasure of visiting you at your temple."

Raghubhai came up the front steps just at that moment; he was vexed to see the two ascetics and muttered something about ochre robes and family honour. He dared not say anything to Ramkisandasji, so he vented his anger on the other man.

"Who are you, Sir, and what do you want?"

The *Sannyasi* cast a piercing glance upon the Kotwal, taking his full measure from top to toe. He smiled as a grown up person smiles at the folly of a child. To Raghubhai

[1] *Sachchidananda* is the name always used by this man for the Absolute.

the smile was inscrutable, but he felt his power was being set at nought and he saw himself being humbled. In spite of all this he felt himself carried off by the irresistible magic of the Swami's personality.

"Dear Sir!" replied the Swami, "I am a *Sannyasi* and have come for alms." He took the proffered gift of flour from Gunavanti and walked away. To Raghubhai this was a new and strange experience. This man had proved the wonderful power he had even over himself, the Kotwal.

"Well, children, where are you off to?"

"Bawaji has come to fetch them. There is a Bhajan party."

Raghubhai had no particular wish to take the children out. So he was relieved and felt thankful to the old man.

"Well you may go, good-bye, Bawaji."

"Good-bye. Now come, Jagat on one side of me and Tanman on the other."

"No, Bawaji," said Tanman, "we will walk together hand in hand by ourselves."

CHAPTER IV

The Troth Plighted

Bawaji arrived at the temple with the children. It was an old temple and part of it was in ruins. The entrance opened into a big inner courtyard; the sanctuary was just opposite the door and in it stood the images of Ramchandraji and Sitaji. There were two rooms on either side of this in one of which was some furniture and the other was used as Bawaji's private room. There was a covered veranda running all round the courtyard. A dozen or more Bawajis were sitting in the courtyard. Some were pulling quietly at their

Ganja-pipes ; a couple were trying to put right a big drum by thumping and pulling it in various ways. Another old Bawaji was making herculean but fruitless efforts to tune a *Sitar* as ancient as himself.

"Look here, here comes Ramkisandasji."

"Yes, Janardan, my boy. Now make ready for the *Arti*."

A young disciple, fully dressed in a loin-cloth, made haste to prepare for the *Arti*. Ramkisandasji, meanwhile, took the children into the sanctuary to pay their homage to the deities.

"But, oh Bawaji, your Ramchandraji is still fast asleep."

"How so?"

"How? Have I yet rung the bell?"[1]

"Indeed, I had forgotten," and the Bawaji lifted up Tanman to ring the bell.

"And look here, my dears, we will be singing hymns all night to Ramji. If you feel sleepy just come here and tuck yourselves in on that mattress in the corner."

"Very well."

Coming out Ramkisandasji asked, "Jankidasji, do you know the Swamiji of Varat?"

"Oh. that old fellow? Yes, what of him?"

o-day. A wondrous man! I have
l specimen of manhood."
ıeard that he has had a new disciple
ınd the whole village has gone stark

anardan had got the *Arti* ready,
ɔquisites and all the Bawajis got up
'y. Ramkisandasji grasped in his
'y round brass tray with its seven
ɔur people began to strike on brass

[1] ty the worshipper rings the bell hung inside the

gongs. In the further corner a couple thundered away upon a kettle drum. At short intervals Jankidasji blew ear-splitting blasts from a huge conch, others started ringing bells of various sizes thus adding their efforts to the praise-worthy task of rousing Ramji. God is ever so much greater than man and correspondingly greater is the noise needed to wake him up. Very likely for this reason He is unable to hear the whispered prayers of helpless creatures wasted by hunger and enfeebled by disease!

The *Arti* of the Bawaji was enough to burn up, besides the sins, all patience as well, in most human beings. It lasted about three quarters of an hour. On either side of the images of Rama and Sita the Bawajis stood in two rows like courtiers. Most were singing to the tune of the whirling tray. Drunk with the holy wine of the Bhajan, their ignorant, illiterate souls left all the vexations, troubles and sins of the world behind them and soared away into the higher, purer regions filled with unselfish divine love.

Jagat and Tanman were standing just in front. For a few minutes they too had joined their palms in devotion, but getting tired they soon let their hands drop. A couple of minutes later Jagat began to suffer from fidgets in his leg on account of his having had to stand still so long began to stamp on the floor with his feet. were tired so she leaned with her arm on The pretty limbs of the two little child Tanman specially—seemed to blaze forth light of the waving *Arti*. After a time sing. Music is catching. In the midst clatter and din around she sang out lo Lord of Heaven, deign to dwell in thi began the first song learnt by the maidens times she beat her little foot on the Tanman got completely absorbed in her m

The *Arti* ended at last and the din suddenly subsided. A moment ago there was noise enough to awaken ten thousand corpses from their graves, and now one could have heard a pin drop. Only the sweet bird-like notes of Tanman were heard trilling out: "Rama slew the dreaded demon."

The Bawajis, so long absorbed in the *Arti*, turned suddenly, and stood struck with amazement. Like the love-song of a nightingale after the thunders of a world-destroying tempest sounded the sweet notes. Even their hardened hearts were melted and they looked admiringly at the pair.

Suddenly self-consciousness came back to Tanman; hers was the only voice heard, and blushing crimson, she stopped abruptly.

"Bravo, little girl, bravo," said Jankidasji coming near, "well done indeed!" He lifted up Tanman in his arms. The peace following the music was now again disturbed, for the sweet offerings were now being distributed. The noise began again. As we come down from heaven and get among physical things once again, we naturally cry out.

The children enjoyed the sweets, and all went out into the open courtyard. Jankidasji still held Tanman in his lap. Jagat was sitting at a distance. After some time the musical instruments consented to give forth some semblance of harmonious notes.

"Dear," said Jankidasji, "do sing something."

Tanman smiled. Which maiden dislike flattery and praise? "No, Maharaj."

"No, but you must."

"But what shall I sing. I cannot sing at all."

"No, no, do not tell stories. Sing anything."

"Yes, darling, don't be shy," pleaded Ramkisandasji.

"Well, then, listen. But I do not know songs about Ramchandraji but about Krishna."

"Oh, well, it does not matter."

Tanman cleared her throat; her tender flute-like notes poured out in a sweet little ballad.[1]

"My love has quite forgotten me,
O darling of my heart, my Lord.
My Kahnuda,[2] I trusted thee
False is thy love and false thy word.

All through the weary night I weep
My heart is torn 'twixt hopes and fears,
Sleep closes not my burning eyes,
My pillow, friend, is wet with tears.

'Tis true, my Hari, once you sent,
With words of love, a letter sweet;
But black art thou, and faithless too,
Thine heart is black with foul deceit.

You won my untried maiden love,
Then flung me helpless from your side
Oh, Chieftain of proud Jadav clan,
Would such base deed enhance their pride?

Without thee life hath lost its charm;
A corner in thy loving heart
Reserve for me;—oh, come to me,
Give me one kiss—ere life depart."

[1] No translation can give an idea of the beauty of the original lyric. Each word there is full of tender association of Krishna and Radha. The translator has merely attempted a feeble paraphrase.

[2] Krishna.

The Bawajis,—the adamant-hearted Bawajis, knowing neither love nor family, who had never bathed in the sweet stream of a maiden's love, who would not even have cared to wash their hands after spilling human blood—even such hard-hearted Bawajis felt their very beings thrilled by the sad simplicity of this ballad. For some moments—a dozen perhaps—they allowed the waters of pure love to lave their hearts, they bathed in its limpid stream and—emerged the better and the purer from it. To sing songs throbbing with all the ecstasy of burning love or even to hear the burning notes of the heart is real education. For they pierce through the outward indifference of mankind, they melt away the ice of selfishness, which freezes "the genial current of the soul" and whatever raises the brute up to the human level is education in the truest sense.

All acclaimed Tanman loudly as she finished her song.

"But," said Jankidasji, who had been looking about him for some time, "Sita is here, but where has our Ramji disappeared?"

"Poor little chap! He must have gone to bed. Now, Tanman darling, you too run away. You did exceedingly well to-day and gave us the greatest pleasure. Tanman got up and looked round her but no Jagat was to be seen.

Jankidasji at last managed to straighten the strings of his crazy *sitar* and with a long-drawn "a-a-a-a-a-a-a-...," now coughing, now spluttering, arranged to bring his voice to the correct pitch. After about a quarter of an hour's running over the whole gamut with every conceivable variation, some connected words began to come from his throat:

"My soul, give up life's shifting quicksand
And on Rock of Ages anchor."

Tanman began to search for Jagat. Every girl, even a child of eight or nine has got the intuition of her sex; so she

knew that Jagat had some special reason for leaving her and going away. She went to the room where the mattress had been spread for them. Jagat was lying upon it, face down. Tanman quietly went up to him and sat down near him. She leaned against Jagat's body, but he did not speak; she gave him a little loving slap but he only set his lips tight and moved not. Jagat was really angry and was not likely to give way so easily.

"Kishor, dearest, do speak to me. Do look up, my darling," said Tanman, and with all her strength tried to turn him on his back. At last Jagat yielded to her efforts, and said:

"You go and sing and laugh by yourself. What have I to do with you!" Love's sway must always be undivided.

"Nay, Kishor, my dear, don't say that. If you had told me so I would never have sung," cooed Tanman. "Brother dear, please do not treat me thus, I am to be with you only a few days more."

Jagat was suddenly startled into life and sat up; "Why so?"

"Ah, now you speak, you dear old rogue!"

"No, but do tell me, why only a few days more?"

"Yes, I quite forgot to tell you. We are going away."

"When? When? And who are the 'we'?"

"Father says he will be probably transferred."

"Really?" "Yes."

"Oh, my dear Tanman, what shall I do without you?" The words of the child were innocent, but they implied a deep and real wound: "How shall I get on without you."

"But surely I will come back."

Jagat felt being crushed by the impending calamity; "How so? Will your father be transferred here again?"

Both remained for a while sunk in deep thought. They looked at each other in helpless dejection. At last Tanman found a way out.

"But surely I will always write to you. And when I grow up I will come back."

Jagat liked this proposition better. "Yes, I will also grow up by then and will be earning my own living, and we will live together—mummy, you and I," cried he, his heart swelling with pride.

"And then we will marry," added Tanman, as if a sudden flash had illumined the darkness of their ignorance. But once again she was plunged in deep thought. "But, Kishor, dear, if you forget me?"

"I forget you?" cried Kishor proudly. He was already well acquainted with romances and their language. "I forget you? My Devi? No, it can never be. What are you thinking of?"

"Honour bright?"

"Honour bright! Just come here," saying so, he caught Tanman's arm and led her in front of the altar where the images stood in the sanctuary.

"Here before Ramchandraji I swear never to forget you."

For five minutes the children remained quiet and solemn. From outside came the deep bass notes of Ramkisandasji singing—"All the world is seeking Rama-a-a-a-..." Then came a wonderful moment for both. The oppressing load on their hearts was lightened and the soul of each looked into the other's eyes. "My Kishor!" "Devi!" and they clasped hands before the altar.

* * * * *

At six o'clock the next morning Ramkisandasji finished his Bhajan, and after singing his morning hymn [1] he went in to wake up the children. The little lovers were asleep on the mattress looking like unopened rosebuds. They were still clasping each other's hands as if afraid of being separated

[1] Bhairavi.

even in sleep. The tender light of the morning was falling around them, and soft sweet breezes were blowing round their pretty faces. It seemed as if the souls of both, as tender and pure as their bodies—had attained the goal of human endeavour, and, completely absorbed into each other, were being united before their God in bonds of Love Divine. Did the gods and goddesses wed thus of old?

(To be continued)

K. M. MUNSHI

CO-OPERATION AND THE PROBLEM OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

One of the world's greatest teachers held ignorance to be the worst of sins and the root cause of human misery, and it certainly seems that if the leaven that is now working in all countries brings them disaster instead of a happier era, ignorance will be the cause ; ignorance of what might be done towards solving all our problems by the simple and peaceful means of economic co-operation; we are concerned in this article with the solution by co-operation of the fundamentally important problem of education, but we cannot separate one from others that it would solve, so, for every reason, we shall start by considering co-operation in a general way.

The movement that bears that name, may be said to be on the eve, now, of triumph, owing to the productive power given to labour by industrial progress, and the increased facilities given for employing unskilled workers. The earning classes will see that this progress is opening up for them a new and very simple way of solving their problems, both economic and political, by organising themselves to work for each other, to employ each other mutually as we might express it, and so to be independent of the "laws of supply and demand" and that is what we have to understand now first and foremost.

There is no need to explain to people in India that this plan would solve political problems as well as economic ones. In the language that is now current, if people had the option of working in their own economic organisation, it would be perfectly easy for them to withhold their co-operation entirely from any government, and by that means to bend governments to their will.

But a good deal of confusion exists now in popular notions as to what co-operation is, and what it might or might not do,

owing to the fact that the pioneers failed to carry out their plan as originally conceived, and that the co-operative movement then transformed itself into a mere democratic system of trading.

Some early pioneers tried to organise people in co-operative communities or "commonwealths" to produce the principal necessaries of life for themselves. They thought out their plan well, they foresaw, and arranged for, the economic difficulties that would have to be met, but they failed in practice because the workers were never unselfish enough to sink their personal opinions and work together to carry out the plan. Innumerable attempts were made, but they all came to grief in that way. The Rochdale co-operative shops system is the basis of the movement as we see it now. The plan is to create later, industries which the co-operators would support by being customers to them, enjoying themselves the profits that are made, and for those industries ultimately to work together and carry out the true idea of mutual employment and economic independence. But, to cut a long story short, the whole interest of the co-operators seems to have centred in the profits of the shops, the ideal was left to look after itself and thus it was never attained.

Quite naturally then, the idea is now fixed in the popular mind that co-operation as originally conceived, *i.e.* mutual employment, demands more altruism to carry it out than we possess and that, therefore, co-operation does not offer a practical solution for our greater problems.

But success depends on a factor that is changing constantly and rapidly: namely the productive power of labour. Progress is constantly opening up new facilities for carrying out the true idea: that of mutual employment.

We must set ourselves to discovering ways of commencing the application of this economically sound idea that short-sighted selfishness will not be able to defeat, and those who will take the trouble to do that may be the saviours of our modern civilisation.

Now in this connection a profoundly interesting situation has arisen to which all workers for progress must give their very best attention.

Many people excuse themselves from active participation in efforts to solve social problems, saying that charity begins at home. None, however, can fail to take an interest, in some way or other, in the problem of education, because it goes straight to almost every home. Now co-operation can solve our educational problems and nothing else can.

All have come to realise at least that we need a more practical system of education than we have. Those who take the most superficial view see that, as a result of education having spread so much among all classes, liberal professions, and generally all the occupations for which schooling qualifies people, are overstocked, so schools as they are now circumstanced do not fit boys to make a living. Those who look more deeply into the question of the welfare of future generations see more reasons than one to demand a rapid and radical reform of our educational system.

Physiologists know now, that the young human being is extraordinarily plastic and capable of being moulded either for better or for worse; and the age of "plasticity," in the opinion of the Royal Commission on Physical Deterioration, continues up to about eighteen.

We know now that, by setting to work in the right way, to develop children's vitality, their alertness, their energy we can to an enormous extent, make normal children energetic and strong and form even their character in the moral sense.

We know, therefore, that there are things we can do for the young by the side of which the importance of the mere teaching, which is the be-all and end-all of our present system, seems to shrink into insignificance. Besides, by proper food and attention to hygiene, vitality and strength are induced by keeping the child at occupations that, by interesting it keenly, call forth the utmost of joyful exertion; joy and hearty exercise

of all the faculties are the sunshine and showers that make the young human plant develop. The moral senses which are founded upon the conceptions of love and of duty, are exercised by keeping the child at employment that will be a labour of love.

Now all this means, in a few words, that the very simplest and the most natural of all things, namely suitable practical work, the fruits of which are always visible, and the inspiration of which is loving service, is the most important thing in education. Thus it is that all great educationists endorse the view Ruskin has expressed so well in the words: "Employment is the half, and the primal half, of education, it is the warp of it; and the fineness or the endurance of all the subsequently woven pattern depends wholly on its straightness and its strength."

Second in importance to useful work for vitality-training, is undoubtedly play and sports generally, to which, therefore, the very greatest care should be given and for which we must give full opportunities.

We have not to contemplate any revolution so alarming to the ordinary mind, as the substitution of moral and vitality training for schooling. As a matter of fact, class-work is necessary also from the highest point of view of training. Study is the supreme means of giving mental discipline, which is, of course, of foremost importance in moral training. If continuous, however, class work is morally and in every way bad, and must be utterly condemned. In long stretches it induces a spirit of listlessness and shirking, of everything in fact that is absolutely poison to the young in the plastic age. It must alternate with practical work and sports. Then children will take to it also keenly, because it will be a change and it will then do then good not harm.

What, then, we need is a very long day at school in which constant changes will produce constant and keen interest and the day will be passed, not cheerfully only, but with delight,

each change coming in such a way as to create a strong and lively interest and then, as physiologists can tell us, every normal child will grow up energetic, alert and strong.

There will be nothing but agreement now-a-days as to the desirability of such an educational system, but the whole question is how the cost is to be met. The answer is to be found in a single word—and that is, co-operation; and a co-operative organisation can allow us to do all that is desirable for the very poorest children as well as for the rich. Thus we may hope that we shall find the educationist, in solving his own problem, the pioneer of the co-operative idea of mutual employment, and leading us in the direction in which is to be found the realisation of hope for all our longings for better social conditions.

Industrial progress has enabled us to make such great use of the labour of children, employed, of course, with a sufficient proportion of adults, that it is in our power to make the practical work pay from the age of ten or so. But we should require probably one adult to every two children, so that if they were employed, one-third of their time on the practical work, it would mean that there would be approximately an adult worker for every six or eight children above, say, ten. Education on this plan would, therefore, need its two distinct departments, the one scholastic and the other economic.

To organise the economic department is the great work of the educational and social reformer, to day.

Now, we come to an economic principle that is of the very greatest importance and opens up immense possibilities for education.

The child, and even, in the great majority of cases, the student, being a member of a family, other members of which earn money, can perfectly well bring his contribution in kind, provided only that it is in the form of articles of common use with a reasonable amount of choice, so thrt it would be better

in every way to employ the children producing articles for their own use and for use in their families—that is to say "co-operatively."

This means that the college and school industrial establishments would enable the young workers, as we might express it, to earn their wages double, since they would earn both as producers and as distributors—or supposing their productive labour had no particular value, still they would earn the distributors' profits. This double earning is in any case the strength of co-operation, and not peculiar to this case; the principle, however, would work very simply and very visibly applied to education, and thus opens up immense possibilities.

But now for the present let us not think so much of possibilities for the future, but rather of how we might be able to make a small beginning with schools as they are and with the parents' prejudices as we actually find them; to *begin* such work somehow, is the important thing.

Market garden produce can be grown under good conditions for less than half of what it generally costs to buy retail. If, then, schools were to have gardens with a sufficient number of trained gardeners, under competent supervision and direction, the boys might have excellent practical training in doing some work under the gardeners in rotation. At first we should not be able to persuade parents to consent to more than a few hours a week of practical work, so that the boys' labour would have little or no value; still, however, they might earn as distributors by taking the produce home, which they would do with great pleasure and pride from the feeling that they had helped to produce it; and, however unimportant economically their part had been, their joy and their pride in it would not be diminished. It would be possible to arrange at once for town schools to send a proportion of their boys every day to a branch outside the towns, where, whilst going on with their lessons, they would have some healthy work of this kind; an arrangement that would obviously be of the very

greatest value to town children, their earnings as distributors easily paying the cost of travelling.

It is of great importance that the gardeners should be supervised together with the boys. In any enterprise the tendency is for most employees, unless closely supervised, to shirk their work, and thus losses occur. If, however, each worker had two or three boy helpers to look after, he would on the one hand, not be able to shirk so easily, and at the same time, he would not eveu be nearly so much inclined to, for, under his direction, the boys would do a good deal of the work demanding bodily exertion, so would make even a lazily disposed man do a fair day's work, provided only he was not also incompetent, and the discipline of the school was not defective. Any one who had anything to do with organising and supervising labour will realise how important that factor is.

An organisation of this kind would give the senior boys the opportunity at once of having one of the most commercially valuable of all trainings, in organising and supervising labour.

But, now, schools would not be prepared to take on large numbers of gardeners, knowing quite well, that if they were not managed in the right way, heavy loss would be the result. We need the co-operative organisation, of the schools not only to give all the necessary technical advice and supervision, but also to take the financial responsibility, of which the schools themselves would not consent to take more than a limited part.

Evidently, we cannot demand of a single school that it should launch out on a new enterprise of this kind and learn the way to carry out the plan, perhaps in the proverbially expensive school of experience. Co-operatively, however, it can be done, and so we need first and foremost the school and college co-operative organisation.

The same organisation would organise college and school co-operative stores, which, acting together as branches of a

central organisation, would be able, under modern conditions, to give students and school children opportunities of earning as distributors by taking articles to their homes, and of gaining practical commercial experience. The idea of the school and college co-operative stores is, of course, well-known, and has attained a considerable degree of success. With a central organisation on a large scale, it would be possible to deal in articles other than those of everyday use, those in connection with which the advantages of co-operative buying are greatest.

Here again there is an economic principle we want to understand and apply. If, in any way, a number of people could agree to make their purchases through the same channels, they could have, of course, more advantageous terms, whatever those channels might be. It would also be an immense advantage to all to have a co-operative general agency that would *advise* people in connection with any purchase. Practically, however, it is not feasible to induce people to combine for either of these purposes, they will not take the trouble.

But they would readily do it if their children were the canvassers and suitably rewarded for their agency. The school stores and agency are, therefore, a way of realising economic possibilities, that as yet we have realised only to a very small extent, and *for that reason, they should pay from the first.*

Industrial training is necessary also, but schools are, of course, quite incapable of organising industries successfully and unable to take the financial responsibility.

A school and college co-operative organisation, however, would be able to solve this difficulty also. With its various branches in the different schools, it would be an important agency, so its support would be well worth having, and it would easily be able to induce small industrialists to enter into arrangements with schools for the employment of the boys on a systematic and suitable plan, in consultation

with the school authorities, in exchange for its support commercially.

Evidently, we may anticipate, that when the organisation became a powerful one, it would not be satisfied with such an elementary arrangement as that, but would enter into some kind of partnership with owners of small industries, so as to have as nearly as practically possible, a proper share of the profits its agency would cause them to earn. Ultimately, of course, we may conceive of a very large organisation of this kind starting its own industrial enterprise in the various schools and colleges, but meanwhile it would be able to arrange for industrial work in schools, and advance step by step, towards that final development.

In those simple ways by co-operation, we may advance in the direction of education that would offer hopes of enabling boys to earn as well as to learn, that is to say, education which ought to be not dearer but cheaper than the present defective system. As soon as we began to realise some of these earning possibilities, we can foresee that we should establish schools on this principle for poorer boys, in which they would spend a sufficient part of the day in industrial work to insure that they would be self-supporting. We should then hope to be able to overcome remaining prejudices and form public opinion gradually in favour of practical education for all classes.

Very simply, then, we should pass from educational to social reform.

Evidently this system of education could extend to adults also. We should be able to allow people of any age to join an organisation of this sort, receiving remuneration in kind and getting any industrial training they wanted.

When we had done that, we should virtually have solved the problem of mutual employment, and that would mean, ending unemployment.

We might find in that way a very ready solution for the problem of middle class unemployment in India. Young adults

working in such organizations might very easily earn thirty rupees' worth a month of food stuffsand other useful articles, whilst receiving a practical industrial training that would qualify them very soon to command good salaries.

The problems of practical education and of unemployment are absolutely bound up together in India, and they are also in every country. People can always get work in a mutual organisation in which they will do their share of producing articles for themselves, and for others similarly situated. At this point, however, we pass from the educational question to other social questions and we shall cry a halt, for many will think that we are entering into the domain of unrealisable dreams.

But we are not dreaming at all ; these are the possibilities of economic co-operation, which have been perfectly well realised by all thoughtful people for the last century and which, it now seems, we may attain by the way of an educational organisation. What concerns us immediately, however, is that we can now revolutionise our educational system if only we have the will. *Our whole system is vitiated now by our starting with the idea that education must be expensive and must therefore be gone through rapidly and owing to that reason children have been set to work in a way that is bad for them. Co-operation can change that for us at once and by that alone it can usher in a new era ; really successful school industries are impossible without co-operation ; so, once more, to start the school, co-operative organisation is the great need.*

We must not, of course, expect that in this way more than in any other, perfection will be attained at once. The employment of children in industrial work in a manner that will be instructionally and economically valuable will demand most careful study. Modern industrial methods, if thoughtlessly applied, are not at all good from the educational aspect. Probably at first, some at least of the practical work will fall short of what one would desire from the purely educational point of view. Even so, however, co-operation opens up a way in

which it would be possible to give the children the alternative of employment, that is necessary to keep them as interested as possible all day, and to enable the expense to be met of giving them systematically and unstintingly the most healthy kinds of games and sports, and to enable poor children to be given, at the school, a meal consisting of the most wholesome kinds of food, so that under those combined influences all normal children will grow up strong and energetic.

The application of co-operation to the solution of educational problems in India has now been the special study of the Calcutta University Poverty Problem classes for some years; in fact, ever since they came into existence. Several of the most prominent merchants of Calcutta, and of India generally, have given their support to an organisation to which the name Indian Polytechnic Association has been given, formed to carry out the ideas put forth in this article; there is some mention of it in the Report of the Calcutta University Commission.[1] Hitherto, however, from lack of popular appreciation, it has existed no more than in name, but practical experiment has now proved the difficulty, nay almost the impossibility, of establishing practical education by separate efforts, owing to the fact that schools generally know neither what practical work to take up, how to set about it, or how to dispose advantageously of anything they may produce. It is recognised now, as the result of experience, that the co-operative organisation is needed first and foremost, and a sub-committee has been formed in this connection of the Bengal Co-Operative Organisation Society, to help the Association of which one of Calcutta's foremost business men has consented to be a vice-president.

India has always been held to offer a particularly hopeful field for the application of co-operation in any form, and

[1] See Volume VII, p. 20.

THE CONGRESS OF THE UNIVERSITIES OF THE EMPIRE

Whilst the League of Nations has been occupying many months and days in getting its cumbrous machinery instituted and set in working order on a lesser scale—it is not perhaps too much to say—the Congress of the Universities of the Empire has been dominated by the spirit of the league and has been addressing itself in a mood of high seriousness to the accomplishment of certain of its aims. That the Universities of the Empire can do much both by internal consolidation and by their external attitude to promote the peace and order of the world is undoubted, and the consciousness of this opportunity was never absent from the deliberations of the Congress which was held recently at Oxford.

It was a representative gathering. Delegates to the number of about 130 were present from practically every University of the Empire, and the Universities had not hesitated to send their most prominent men to take part in the deliberations. Chancellors, Vice-Chancellors and Pro-Chancellors, Presidents, Provosts and Principals constituted the majority of the members, whilst men of lesser academic standing contributed a democratic element and maintained relations with ordinary humanity. As always happens at such gatherings, the representatives from overseas took their duties more seriously on the whole, than did those who emanated from universities in the United Kingdom. The greater the distance, the more assiduous was the attendance and the nearer a university town happened to be to Oxford. The shorter and the more interrupted in many cases were the visits which its delegates paid to the Congress. But there were many even from the English and Scottish Universities outside of Oxford to whom this remark does not apply, and who, like

Sir Donald Macalister of Glasgow, took a leading part in the deliberations of the Congress and bore a large share of the burden of responsibility. And, as for our hosts in Oxford itself, even if they sat not through the entire period of the discussions, nothing could have exceeded the carefulness and cordiality of their hospitality. Behind the scenes much patient work must have gone to the perfecting of the arrangements which ensured the comfort and enjoyment of all their guests.

Calcutta had reason to be proud of its Indian delegation. Not only was it large numerically—so large indeed as to cause some searchings of heart on the part of the officials of the Congress and call for elasticity in the interpretation of the membership rules of that august body,—but it was composed of men who had a genuine title to represent their University. Calcutta was not content to appoint delegates who merely *happened* to be near Oxford and available at the time, or whose connection with the University was nominal and belonging entirely to the past, but men who were in the closest possible touch with present affairs and specifically and practically interested in the deliberations of the Congress. In these deliberations also the Calcutta and Indian delegates in general took an increasingly important share, and their speeches had considerable effect.

The members of the Congress did not meet as strangers under entirely new conditions. Many preparations had already been made for the meeting of 1921, and the individual members had already had opportunities for making acquaintance with one another. At the meeting of the Congress in 1912, provision had been made for the establishment of a Universities' Bureau, and in the intervening years this organisation had attained to the dignity of a corporation, having articles of association and drawing a revenue from Government assistance and from contributions more or less willingly given by the Universities of the Empire. It had found a local habitation in Russell Square, London, and it

had busied itself with gathering and disseminating information useful to migratory professors, lecturers and students of the different Universities and with facilitating research in subjects where co-operation was specially necessary. It had issued several editions of a year-book or conspectus of the Calendars of the Universities, and it had crowned its labours by undertaking the by no means easy task of making arrangements for the Congress of 1921.

These arrangements included a series of tours to the various Universities of the United Kingdom and Ireland, and as several of these tours preceded the meetings of the Congress proper, many of the delegates had formed associations with one another before they actually gathered together in Oxford. The Welsh Universities had already been visited, and so had the Irish, though it is alleged that several of the delegates who had arranged to go to Ireland had been reading the newspapers too carefully and were attacked by sudden illness on the eve of their departure. The University of London also had officially received the delegates and planned out a series of visits to the various colleges and institutions under its jurisdiction. Indian delegates found special interest in the magnificently equipped schools of medicine and science, discovered many friends at the London School of Economics, and received a cordial welcome at the School of Oriental Studies from a former Calcutta citizen, Sir Dennison Ross. The benediction of the State was received at a Government lunch at the Savoy Hotel where the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour presided over a distinguished gathering of literary men, scientists and politicians, and welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Imperial Government, speaking impressively of the spiritual unity of the nations. Rumour was rife to the effect that His Majesty the King had intended to receive the delegates at Buckingham Palace, but unfortunately arrangements could not be completed for the bestowal of this high honour.

On Tuesday morning, 5th July, the serious business of the Congress began. In strenuous mood the delegates assembled at Paddington station *en route* for Oxford, whither they were conveyed by special train. On arrival at Oxford there was in the opinion of the authorities need for such great haste that considerable liberties were taken with the persons of the distinguished delegates. The railway bridge over the station road at Oxford is not adapted for the passage of motor buses, having on top, University delegates possessing large heads, and in several cases decapitation was imminent. However warning was given just in time and the peril was safely passed. It would have been a thousand pities if Sir Nilratan Sircar upon whose head the University of Oxord was about to shower its honours had found himself deprived of that member of his body, at the very commencement of his visit.

The Congress met in the magnificent Examination Schools of the University and the first session was presided over with dignity and impressiveness by the Marquis Curzon, who regretted that the efforts to discover "political solutions for largely insoluble problems" had left him but little opportunity in recent years for the study of academic questions. At the same time he had watched the progress of the Universities, the increase in their number and the development of their internal resources. Oxford had not been slumbering even before the war; she had been vigorously shaken out of her accustomed routine by the fact that 2,500 of her members had become officers in the army, and she was now broad awake—to find that she had now 4,500 students instead of the 3,000 of pre-war days, and that her opportunities had increased at an even greater rate than her responsibilities. In referring to responsibility and opportunity the Marquis Curzon struck what might be described as the dominant note of feeling in the Congress, and his concluding words—"I venture to invoke the blessing of Providence upon your labours"—were in keeping with the whole tone of his address

and anticipatory of the serious spirit in which all the deliberations of the Congress were conducted.

At this session the Universities tried to set their own house in order and considered the balance of their studies. What was to be the place of the Humanities in the new educational world? Were the men of science to be accorded a grudging or a cordial welcome? And, if once admitted, were they to be allowed to possess themselves of the whole field? Dr. L. R. Farnell of Exeter College, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University and our official host, represented the classical scholar who deplored the abandonment of Greek and the diminution of Latin learning, and who earnestly, though a little sadly, attempted to adapt himself to the new conditions. He was willing to lessen the time required for the training of a classical scholar by paying less attention to the study of accents and the composition of Greek and Latin verses, and he emphasised the importance of archæology for the revivifying of Hellenic studies and the recapturing of the Hellenic spirit. He also pointed out the close connection between classical studies and modern literature. It would have been of interest to the Congress if more allusion had been made to the place of Sanskrit in relation to modern University study in India, but attention was almost altogether concentrated upon the possible value of Latin and Greek.

In an extremely interesting paper on "The Place of the Humanities in the Education of Men of Science" Professor Desch presented the case from the point of view of the scientist. He argued that while the mental training which had hitherto been expected from a minute study of the classics could now be given by science, yet the man of science was apt to become narrow if he had no knowledge of history or of the literature both of the past and the present age. In particular, ultra-specialism needed to be counterbalanced by a synthetic view of knowledge which could be given only by humanistic culture. He made no plea however, for a minute knowledge,

and his suggestion that instead of the original texts, translations might quite well be used, was perhaps calculated to make the hair of the orthodox classicist stand on end. In passing, he made the pertinent remark that there was "no necessary connection between science and inelegance of expression" and hinted that humanism might lead to improvement in style.

At the afternoon session, the Congress looked beyond the borders of the Universities, and considered their relation both to the past and the future of their students. The training of students to fulfil their social and political responsibilities was the main idea of the discussion on "The Teaching of Civics, Politics and Social Economics," and Mr. Balfour, who presided, set the tone of the discussion high with his remark that he had ceased to believe in the distinction between superior and inferior races. Prof. Montpetit of Montreal set in the forefront one of the main difficulties in the teaching of politics in Universities, a difficulty which, as Miss Grier of Newnham also pointed out, had retarded the progress of political studies. Was the University to enter into the domain of party politics and soil its hands with the dust of conflict? And, on the other hand, how could it keep clear of current political problems without losing touch with actuality? Prof. Montpetit stated that while he did not believe in politics exerting an undue influence over the University he deemed it "a capital thing that the University should have an indirect action over politics and a strong grasp on the public spirit." Civism is the duty of all, and, if we are not to be at the mercy of propagandists whose hearts are stronger than their heads, it is necessary that public opinion should be enlightened. Unfortunately, an opinion is often powerful because it is poor, and, according to Miss Grier, the subject of politics has hitherto been frequently at the mercy of those who possess much good will but little knowledge. Yet knowledge is specially necessary at the present time in view of the vast size of modern communities

and the specialisation of industry which closeness of contact has rendered possible. Sir William Beveridge set forth as the objects of University teaching the training of the mind and the bringing of man into harmony with his environment, and argued that the study of politics and social economics was good for the first and specially good for the second, inasmuch as the dominant factor in the human environment now was not Nature but our fellow-men.

The discussion on the past of the students or the relation of the Universities to Secondary Education revealed the fact that the educational problems of India are by no means peculiar to that country. An attitude was taken up very similar to that with which we are familiar in connection with Matriculation and School Final examination problems. The paper of Prof. Burnett of St. Andrew's might have been written in Bengal by a member of the Calcutta University Commission. He deplored the deadening external examination which took away all initiative from the schools and was fatal to good results. He pointed out that the University had no right to dominate the schools as if all pupils in the schools were proceeding to the University, while at the same time he frankly admitted that the University had a right to demand from its intending students a guarantee of a good general education. Mr. Cyril Norwood of Marlborough pleaded for a better adjustment of the relations between the secondary schools and the University, even though he did not think that the appointment of a "general staff" was the only method of bringing about this improvement. He urged that the schools should be given more freedom to work out their own salvation and that the University should be prepared to accept a pupil of a recognised and efficient school on the certificate of the headmaster. Further he asked that the specially efficient pupils of the schools—*i.e.*, those who had studied for, say, two years after reaching the minimum

standard required for the University—should have credit given them by the University for this *extra* work, there being nothing more deadening for the student than to have to repeat, during his first year at the University, the work he has already done at school.

After having discussed these weighty problems brought forward during the first day of the Congress, the members were more than ready for the relaxation of the evening, when the University of Oxford held an official reception in the Ashmolean Museum and in that artistic environment—at a gathering which a retired Indian official described as equalling in brilliance a diplomatic assembly—afforded an opportunity for the making of new acquaintances and the renewal of old friendships.

Although the meetings of the Congress took place during the vacation time in Oxford, occasional glimpses might be had of groups of students different from the ordinary youthful undergraduates and less familiar with their academic surroundings. These were men drawn mainly from the artisan classes and brought together in Oxford under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association, enjoying the hospitality of various colleges and attending short courses of lectures specially arranged to meet their requirements. Their presence afforded an illustration of the importance of the topic discussed at the next session of the Congress, *viz.*, "The Universities and Adult Education." Lord Haldane presided at this meeting, and spoke of how in his ideal for them the Universities might soften the divisions between class and class. He refused to acknowledge any distinction between "labour" and "capital" education. Such a distinction belonged to a lower level and he would in the main have agreed with Mr. Basil Yeaxlea, who, at a subsequent stage in the debate, defined the University standard as one which "simply implies sincerity, thoroughness and persistence in the pursuit of truth." The responsibility of the University for the education

of adults who have not had academic advantages in their youth was fully recognised by Professor Leonard of Bristol. The day of self-centred culture was past, according to him, and he quoted with approval the saying of an American writer—"A college which satisfies itself with self-centred culture is a fountain in a park which thirsty children watch through an iron fence." The University must adapt itself to the requirements of those who are outside the academic railings. It must take the initiative in regard to these new movements, and thus most vividly realise in its new opportunities that it is the home of causes *not* lost. It must go to meet those who are coming towards it as pilgrims to a shrine with earnest desire for the education not only of their children but of themselves and anxious to enter into an inheritance of which it is not right that they should be deprived. They must be made to feel that in coming to the University they come to a place that belongs to them, as Coleridge's stars came to the blue sky "to their native country and their own natural homes, which they enter unannounced, as lords that are certainly expected, and yet there is silent joy at their arrival." Like the chairman of the meeting, Mr. Leonard urged that education is the great leveller and took as illustration the fact that in India, notwithstanding caste, the educated man is welcome in every household.

Our friend of the Calcutta University Commission, Sir Michael Sadler, tried to define more precisely the meaning of adult education and described it as the "training and self-training of those who cannot give years of their life to residence in a University, but whose minds are of the quality which rewards careful cultivation and who have a love of study and the perseverance to pursue it." This particular quality of mind he found to be indicated in the seventh and twelfth books of the *Prelude*—"the mirror of the growth of many a workman's, as well as a poet's mind." There seemed to be a certain degree of apprehension in the mind of Sir Gregory Foster lest

the attempt to give adult education might result in a lowering of the University standard, but he might have found comfort in the idea of the quotation already given from Mr. Yexlea that wherever there is sincerity and persistence in the pursuit of truth, there it is impossible that the standard should ever fall too low. Yet this cautious attitude might perhaps suggest in the mind of those interested in Indian education a query as to how far the methods discussed at the Congress were applicable to India where the almost indispensable basis of primary education is not laid in every case. But in this connection comfort might be found in the suggestion of Lord Haldane that the spread of adult education should take place largely through the efforts of the village schoolmaster. If the village schoolmasters in India—especially the better educated amongst them—could but realise their responsibilities to the community as a whole the ideal of the spread of education even amongst adults would not seem so impossible of attainment.

A somewhat narrower subject, but one still closely affecting the relation of the University to the community, occupied the attention of the Congress at the afternoon session on the second day. Mr. Swithells of Leeds University argued that when, as at the present day, the spirit of invention was quickened, industry needed most of all the leadership which might be forthcoming from established centres of educational influence. Before the business of the Congress proper began on the following day an academic interlude proved of special interest to the Indian delegates. At a "Congregation" held in the Sheldonian Theatre Honorary degrees were conferred on three distinguished members of the Congress. Along with a representative from Canada and another from New Zealand, our own ex-Vice-Chancellor, Sir Nilratan Sircar, received the high honour of a D.C.L. from the University of Oxford, amidst the good wishes and congratulations of all his fellow delegates.

The Congress then discussed further the responsibilities of the Universities to the community, and, in particular, the training of teachers and preparation for Commerce, Industry and Administration. Here again the difficulty was how to get from the general to the particular, how to pass beyond the age-long tradition that the University should prepare for everything in general and nothing in particular, without, on the other hand becoming narrowly technical and utilitarian. Sir William Ashley urged that there was plenty of scope for University training in commerce provided that principles were taught and powers of reasoning were developed. It was a mistake to overload the memory with unconnected facts or with details of office practice which could be picked up in a few days after the actual office work was begun. But it was good to teach accounting or the *rationale* of accounts and to give instruction on the subject of Commercial law. Modern languages should be taught with a view not merely to create ability to write a letter in a foreign language but to produce an intelligent appreciation of foreign conditions and opportunities. In general, the aim of the University ought to be to apply the humanistic spirit to utilitarian studies. The intelligent engineer will then cease to regard the labourers under him as mere machines and will avoid arousing the resentment of men who are acutely, and rightly, conscious of their own humanity.

In regard to the training of teachers, Prof. Adams of London referred to the fact that historically, one of the primary duties of Universities had been the preparation, if not the training, of teachers. As might have been expected however, he rather regretted that the Universities in old times had concentrated attention on *what* the students were to teach rather than on *how* they were to teach it. He seemed unconscious of the consideration that a good many people at the present day think that there is something excessively mechanical in the explicit training given and rather favour

the principle that a teacher is born and not made. Yet no one would have disputed his contention that in the training of teachers the University may come nearest to its ideal, because the material with which it deals is in itself cultural, and thus it is not compelled to depart seriously from the central aim of University education. One very practical point which arose for discussion in the course of the debate was the relation of the training colleges to the University. It was recognised that all teachers could not be expected to proceed to a University degree, and those who favoured a close relation with the University were inclined to pause before the consideration that such lower grade teachers might be overwhelmed in the general life of the University and lose their dignity and individuality. On the other hand the supporters of separate training colleges were slightly apprehensive of the dangers of narrowness and academic inbreeding.

The vexed question of University Finance next occupied the attention of the Congress, and all the University authorities had a tale of woe to unfold as regards the present situation. Everywhere demand was far in advance of supply, and neither fees nor Government grants nor the gifts of private donors seemed likely to yield a sufficient revenue. There was an almost universal agreement that fees could not be greatly increased, but there was a curious cleavage of opinion regarding the respective advantages of State aid and private donations. Canadian experience of State assistance had evidently been uniformly happy and there was a corresponding desire for nationalisation along with a certain amount of dread lest the private donor who paid the piper might also call for the tune. Sir Alfred Ewing on the other hand was more friendly to the private donor, and voiced the opinion of those who were apprehensive lest State aid might mean an excessive amount of State control.

The morning session of the concluding day of the Congress was occupied with the consideration of the place of research

in the Universities—how could the enlargement of knowledge be properly combined with the diffusion of it. The Congress was peculiarly fortunate in its chairman for this debate,—Lord Robert Cecil. He spoke of the twofold value of research in giving mental training and in increasing the knowledge of mankind. It was the one sure preventive against fossilization of the mind, and Oxford especially with its intense respect for tradition and its reputation as the home of lost causes might well give attention to it "not," as the chairman characteristically added, "that a lost cause is necessarily a wrong cause." Research is not only essential to the life of a University but promotes a world peace. One of the most disastrous results of the war had been the paralysing of research. Hundreds of scholars especially in Austria had been crippled in their resources and some of them had even lost their lives through starvation or had suffered grievously in health. There was thus much lee-way to make up, and urgent need to remember that research may promote the brotherhood of humanity, according to the truth of Einstein's saying that "there is no such thing as national learning." Sir Frederick Kenyon, Director of the British Museum, urged the importance of research at second hand, *i.e.*, the proper use of materials which had been accumulated by others and the record of which ought to exist in a well equipped University library. He took occasion to emphasise the importance of the librarian's position and argued that he ought to have the same academic standing as the professors so that he might "stand up to them" and vindicate the claim of the library for existence and maintenance. Prof. Joly of Dublin entered again upon the conflict between the scientists and the classical men. He deprecated the compulsory study of dead languages as largely a waste of time and seriously prejudicial to the advancement of research which had never been more necessary than at the present time.

The important subject of periodical leave for professors and the interchange of professors and students occupied the attention of the Congress at the concluding session. In definite arrangements for periodical leave New South Wales seems to have gone further than any other country, and the results have been excellent, though we suspect that there must have been some searching of heart over the proposal to exclude lecturers and junior professors from the benefits of the arrangement. Indian delegates felt that in a less formal way, many of their Universities already enjoyed the benefits of this sabbatical leave both through the furlough system in vogue and through the efforts made in one University at least to give junior lecturers the advantages of study in foreign Universities. As regards the interchange of professors and students it was generally felt that there were great difficulties in the way of a professor's taking up duties in another University, however much any two Universities involved might benefit by the exchange. There was also agreement that there should be no interchange whatsoever of junior undergraduate students, and that only the very best students should be urged to go to the older Universities for post-graduate work. At the same time there was a strong consensus of opinion that sufficient facilities were not given for such students and that effort should be made to secure for them a definite advanced academic place in the home Universities and thus guard against the danger of their having to repeat work already done.

At this concluding session the thanks of the Congress were expressed to the University of Oxford for its most generous hospitality, Principal Herambachandra Maitra making special acknowledgment on behalf of the delegates from India. Thus came to an end a series of meetings which will ever remain in the memory of those who had the privilege of attending them. We are assured of the value of the Congress and look forward confidently to its rendering

even greater service at future meetings. The practical co-operation of the different Universities will without doubt have its reward. Of the journeyings of members of the present Congress to the other Universities of the United Kingdom it is unnecessary to speak. It is sufficient to say that everywhere a welcome was accorded to them which left absolutely nothing to be desired.

W. S. URQUHART

LITERARY, LINGUISTIC, AND OTHER SKETCHES

POLISH SKETCHES

I.—The Literature of Poland

(2)

Raduski's Home-coming

Raduski drove to the Hotel Imperial. He was shown into a room which was more chilly than a dog's kennel and the only redeeming feature of which was that through the window one could have a view of the church tower. Raduski put on his overcoat and went out. The day was verging into a grey night. The streets were empty, the shops were closed. A warm breeze traversed Lzawiec in various directions causing the blackened snow to melt and converting the lanes into ponds and swamps. Mist rose from roofs, walls, stables and heaps of rubbish. The streets were converted into streams of liquid mud. With a feeling of piety Raduski stood still in front of a courtyard enclosed on three sides by buildings. There it was where he had played with his school-fellows; he seemed yet to hear the joyous shouts of his companions and the patter of the feet, on the wooden gallery encircling the courtyard, of the girl scholars who lived there, twelve year old goddesses with long silky blond hair and wonderful dark-blue eyes. He continued wandering from street to street, from lane to lane, until finally he reached the outskirts of the town where the avenue of trees terminated. Still continuing to walk onwards, he suddenly heard quick steps behind him as well as sideways in the fields. Raduski stopped, turned round and tried to penetrate the darkness with his eyes, when he more felt than saw a tall man. "Gentleman," the new-comer asked, "where are you going?" Raduski, who had had

similar encounters before, realised that his interlocutor was a man of great strength. So he drew his revolver out of his pocket, cocked it and held it in front of him. "Where am I going?" he replied, turning his back towards the ditch. "What is that to you?" "If you have any money," the other said, "you better fork it out." Raduski answered: "Ah, that is what you want. Dare to come nearer and you will get a bullet through your head." "Vincent," another voice called out, "take him on." Raduski heard the whizzing sound of a stick and felt a violent pain in his neck. One of his arms grew stiff. A second blow fell on his hat, and thick fingers fastened on his throat. As he tore himself away, the velvet collar of his coat was left in somebody else's hands. He was just able to raise his revolver to fire twice. His assistants disappeared in the smoke and he could hear their footsteps as they fled across the fields. Raduski returned and when he reached the avenue of trees, he leant against one of them and sobbed: "This is the way you greet me!"

He managed to reach the suburb called Kamionka. Kamionka was inhabited by the poorest of the poor workmen, also by Jews whose income was the very minimum and by people whom it was impossible to classify. At the outskirts of Kamionka stood a large building, which was let out to small officials, who had the pleasure and advantage of being besprinkled with liquid manure from a stable whenever they went out for, or returned from a stroll. The part of Kamionka bordering on this building was a veritable miniature White-Chapel, cursed by people who possessed anything that could be stolen. Raduski passed a wooden cottage with a small verandah. Light streamed out of the windows of two rooms. "Here lived in former days Mrs. Wontrazker," thought Raduski. "She earned her livelihood by giving music lessons, a florin per hour. She may still be living here, the honest skin of her hands in gloves full of holes, her chief boast being that she once had seen the great Moniusko." Raduski looked

through the window of the room on the left. In this room he saw a girl standing in front of a kind of wash-tub. Farther at the back was a dirty fireplace and a few cooking-pots and plates. A sort of box serving as a bedstead coeered with a red rag stood in a corner; near the stove stood a pail supporting a board to do ironing on. A towel served as table-cloth, on which lay a small loaf of white-bread, a sausage, some eggs and a small piece of cheese, the table being ornamented with branchlets of a black-berry bush. For to-morrow is Easter Sunday! The girl might have been seventeen years of age; she was far from pretty with her snubnose and coarse large mouth. Her hair had probably not been combed for the last two months. Her lean breast was covered by a greasy jacket and her shoulder blades projected painfully below her dirty neck. "Shakespeare's Caliban in female garb!" murmured Raduski. "She is washing her only chemise in honour of Easter. Who can go about an Easter Sunday in a blackened chemise?"

Raduski wandered off to stop at another cottage. The windows were flush with the mud of the street and the steps leading into the cottage were dug into the same mud. The large room was divided up by thin screens into compartments. In one of them lay a person, man or woman, on a wooden bench. In another, near a stove, lay a married couple on a straw mattress beneath a torn cover, snoring peacefully. The couple even owned a chest of drawers; near the window, on a table, lay some loaves of white-bread, various kinds of sausages, cakes, and a flask of vodka. For to-morrow is Easter Sunday! In the back-ground sat an old man wielding hammer and chisel. His head was quite bald; eyes, lips and chin could not be seen as he bent over his work—a tiny tombstone. Wandering onwards Raduski spotted a small lighted window; the cottage was evidently of a second-hand iron-monger. Below the window, on a low stool, sat a boy in a cap of lambskin, trying to mend a boot the

upper leather of which had parted from the sole. Opposite this boy sat another, somewhat older, the naked left foot resting on a heap of boots of old leather. "The whole boot is rotten," remarked the youthful cobbler. "What is to be done with it?" "You go on and don't talk!" replied the older boy. "Why have you not come here earlier?" "Yes, you can well ask that question. Where was the money to come from? The manager told us to come for our wages at ten o'clock and then he made us wait for half an hour." "Have you to work hard in your shop?" "Work hard! you just try it." "I would not mind. I don't know when I was last out of this room." "You are always sitting on this stool? From where do you hail, Moshe?" "From the country." "Far from here?" "From a village, Niemrawe." This was Raduski's birth-place. "This is fine!" said the bigger boy. "Have you neither father nor mother?" "I have a father, but my father is rather stupid." "Stupid, you say?" "Yes, he has a stupid head. Sometimes he goes about without a shirt, and sometimes without his trousers." "Oh, a lunatic." "May be a lunatic. Why not?" "And what does your mother do?" "What can she do, such a mother? She trades a little, she works a little and she goes a begging. There is great misery in the house. There are brothers and sisters of mine; how many, I do not know; may be ten." "And is your master a relative of your mother?" "A distant relative. And now I sit on this stool mending boots for the last four years. O Simon, Simon!" And he let his hands sink on his knees. "Go on, why don't you work, Moshe?" "I am sleepy; I can't work any more." "But what nonsense!" "Simon, I can't, I can't work any more. I see only red spots before my eyes. Truly, I should willingly do your job. But I can't." "Here we are! To-morrow is high holiday, and you rascal have begun to mend the boot, and now you refuse to finish the job. I feel as if I could shoot you." "Simon, I tell you something. My

own boots are quite good, I shall lend them to you. Don't tell my master; I shall quietly sit with my shoes on, so he won't notice." "But the boots won't fit!" "Why should they not fit? They will be rather tight, but they will go on your feet. But you are sure you will return them?" "Why should I not return them? Show them to me!" "You may even go to church in them." "Oh yes, I want to go to church. I forgot all about it." "What is the matter?" "How can I go to church in your boots. You are a Jew." "What does it matter, if I am a Jew." "No, it won't do. It won't do to go to church in a Jew's boots. I might be struck blind during high mass." "Why should that be? The boots are not stolen." "Ah yes, it is true they are not stolen, but it is worse—they are Jewish. You see, a Catholic is a Catholic, there is no question about that. If you buy the boots, it is all right; then they become Catholic. But to go to church in Jewish boots! Oh no, that is impossible." "Well, that can be managed: You have some money; pay me some money and take the boots. We shall say, they are yours. After the festival, you return them, and I return you the money. But, please, return them. The master would cut my head off, if he found out."

Raduski went away. He passed the church, which was lighted up. He went in; the bells rang. Night-service had commenced. So ended the day of Raduski's home-coming.

His Friend, the Lawyer

Raduski had heard that a school-friend of his, Koszczyzki by name, had settled down in Lzawiec as a practising lawyer. He, therefore, resolved to pay him a visit and was shown into the lawyer's office room.

"Do you propose to establish yourself in Lzawiec?" asked Koszczyzki. "Yes." "Then you will want to look out for something to do." "That is so." "Well," said Koszczyzki,

to tell you the truth, you should not have chosen this hole as the scene of your activities. You should have gone to Warszawa. Not even the most modest appointment is to be got here. "I have not come here to find an appointment. I am the possessor of a modest capital on which I should be able to live. But I am planning a little enterprise." "Oh, if you have some capital, you may be able to do business here. Of course, that depends on the amount of your capital. How have you made your money, little brother?" "Well, I have not earned it myself. Perhaps you remember an uncle of mine, when we were in school together. He sometimes presented me with a three rubel note and then confiscated it again. After I went to the University, he disinherited me but when he died, I discovered that by his will I was declared his sole heir. A matter of twenty thousand rubels."

"Well," said the lawyer, "with twenty thousand rubels you can do something even in Lzawiec. But come, I must introduce you to my wife." He drew Raduski into the large sitting room and disappeared into the ne[illegible] to fetch his wif[illegible] a well-nourished, fair-haired, you[illegible] She so[illegible] to be excused and the two men wer[illegible] alone. Ra[illegible] his friend to tell him something of his past experienc[illegible] e wa[illegible] well. "Oh, I cannot complain," replied Ko[illegible] my better-half brought with her a te[illegible] hich I was able to establish myself here. N[illegible] here in [illegible]iec, I have the honour of serving with my sage counsel what some people call the ill-smelling clientéle, nearly the whole of it. Well, when I first came here and established myself as a practising lawyer, I had my head full of youthful ideas, conscientious doubts, consideration of other people's feelings, sympathies and antipathies. The result was that my yearly income amounted to a few tens of rubels; I got head over ears into debt and began to despair. But the Lord watched over me. In the meantime I had kept my eyes open: I

employed some touts and I took what offered itself to me. Now it so happened that some Jew had had the misfortune of hastening the end of a brother in faith. The case made a noise; perhaps you have heard of it. The proofs were damaging. The wife of the Jew paid me a visit and implored my aid. I looked into the case and I managed it so cleverly that the beast got off scot-free. Since then, my door never closes." "Yes, you have done very well," remarked Raduski. "And how much do you earn in the year?" "Oh, three, four five..." "Thousand?" "You don't imagine Kopeks! Have you seen a two-storied building near the railway station? I am having that built. I should not advise you to imitate me. Collecting rent gives you lots of trouble." "And what about your colleagues, the other lawyers?" "Well, as long as I lived on conscientious scruples and went about with holes in my boots, I was treated by them with benevolent condescension. But after I had won the Jew's case, they pounced on me like tigers: calumnies, foul lies, openly exhibited contempt—all these fell to my share. Finally I was invited to a meeting of my confréres. I put on a clean s[illegible]t, a new tie and my black coat and went. The chairman [illegible]eeting was the drunken sot Skurkiewicz. He—in th[illegible] his colleagues, requested [illegible]and [illegible] in the name of—'Ethi[illegible] ...uer would hold forth on ethics. ...ith a flood of high-sounding, highly moral, beautifully didactic phrases. Finally, I was permitted to say a few words in reply. I cited instances, mentioning the names of persons present at the meeting, quoting figures, sometimes pointing with my fingers at X, Y, or Z, giving dates, reciting little incidents, until at the moment the meeting was over my colleagues confessed that my character was without blemishes. Of course, the battle continues, but in secret. When we bite each other, we do it silently; when we tear each other's hair out, we do it in the depth of night. Well, wait, when I have amassed a fortune, they

Kolpazki pretends to be off. He does not re-appear for several months. In the meantime there appeared other relatives of old Miller who claimed a share in the money. Kolpazki returns and declares that the old woman is not willing to agree to a compromise. Of course, not a single Kopek of the fifteen thousand rubels was left. The so-called nephew was made to believe that things were not quite safe, and the company took leave and went off to Austria. The end was that all the four gentlemen were asked by some considerate judge to accept free board and lodging at an institution maintained by the State. "Now, my opinion is," concluded Koszczyzki, "that mankind consists largely of Millers, Kirschenbaums, Kolpazkis. To dream to be able to instil into these instinctive tendencies of blind human elements a drop of higher ideas means about as much as to blow on the sea to stop its ebbs and floods." Raduski looked at the lawyer in blank astonishment, rose from his seat, slapped Koszczyzki on his back, laughed and left the room, never to renew the acquaintance.

Raduski as Chief Editor

Raduski's ambition was to edit a paper which would spread useful information and raise the tone of provincial society. Lzawiec boasted a paper, "Lzawiec News," which counted one thousand subscribers, the annual subscription being five rubels. It was written as if the only subscribers were members of the highest nobility, although the editor granted the well-to-do bourgeoisie the privilege of existence and subscription to the paper. Provincial news were extracted from government reports, which procedure protected the editor from publishing accounts invented by imaginative reporters and saved him visits from inquisitive members of the police; news of ecclesiastical affairs were obtained in the anti-rooms of church dignitaries; to get the proper provision of political news, hands wielding scissors were busily occupied

on dailies published in Warsaw, and scandal and small-talk were carried by the basket-full by eager and obliging gentlemen and ladies and could be had for nothing. Thus the "Lzawiec News" was in a flourishing condition.

A concession to ruin a rival paper, the "Lzawiec Echo" had been secured by a small official, Okladzki by name, who could wield a sharp pen, but who had had to take some rest, as the papers did not pay its way, and who was now looking out, as he expressed it, for an enterprising and not very intelligent publisher, who would not be adverse to sinking a few thousand rubels in the enterprise. He thought he had discovered such a creature in Raduski and paid him a visit. Okladzki did not find in Raduski his ideal of a publisher; but they came to terms. The final agreement was that the tone of the "Lzawiec Echo" was to undergo a radical change; the paper was to have no particular party colour; all polemics with the "Lzawiec News" were to cease; the "Echo" was not to be inimical to the Government, but before everything it should contain information on Polish literature, the conditions of the common people, the productive activities of the manufacturing and mining industries and the agriculture and trade of the home-district. Instead of translations of inspired English novels, there were to be descriptive pictures, á la Heine, of the life of the people, of towns and villages, forests, roads, and fields. Sensational news and scandals were to be retailed only if they were of real interest and taught serious lessons. Okladzki accepted the offer, his monthly salary was to be ten rubels and he was to be at liberty to offer his pungent effusions to more enterprising and less fastidious publishers. Raduski discovered a sub-editor in Pan Grzybowiec, who had tried hard but not very successfully, to earn a livelihood by literary work. The following is an extract from the account our author gives of the first interview of Raduski with Grzybowiec at the latter's lodgings. Raduski had made an offer of a monthly salary of thirty-five rubels. Grzybowiec,

whose income had been considerably less and who was nearly moved to tears by Raduski's offer, called out to his wife who was in the next room. We now let the author continue his tale.

"Some noise was heard in the next room; a door opened and a young lady, quite a girl, entered; she was not exactly pretty and wore a thread-bare dress, but her whole appearance was sympathetic. She stood still and looked with an expression of curiosity at the visitor. Raduski rose and bowed. Grzybowiec introduced him to his wife and told her of Raduski's offer. He suddenly interrupted himself and seemed to think of something. As if having taken a sudden resolution, he turned to his visitor and said: "My wife is the daughter of a government official of this place. We too fell in love with each other whilst at school. She helped me whenever hunger looked me in the eyes." "Oh, Anton!" whispered the lady. "Wait, wait, all right." We engaged ourselves secretly. Her parents, who guessed something, were not at all favourably disposed, the less so, as my wife had refused some tempting offers. Finally a young professor of the college appeared on the scene. Papa and Mama were inclined to adopt strong measures! No wonder! Their house harboured a multitude of youthful offsprings. What was to be done? I sent the university to the devil and finally obtained a place which secured me the princely income of thirty rubels per month. The wedding took place accompanied by a flood of motherly tears and paternal thunder. A year later a little boy made his appearance—another problem. I earned a little extra by copying and my wife gave music lessons, fifty Kopeks per hour, rain or no rain, winter or no winter. Her health broke down. Oh, good Lord! The roof leaks like a water spout, worst near the bed. And because our rent was in arrears, the landlady refused to have the roof repaired. We used all the soup plates and cups and saucers and any other spare vessel to

catch the rain water. Notwithstanding all the precautions the rain came down like a shower bath right on our bed. The landlady took pity on us and lent us a tray meant to hold twenty-four glasses, a family souvenir, and beneath that tray my wife lay for days and days together." And then the young man explained to his wife what the new plans were. She sat stiffly upright, pressed her handkerchief against her mouth, and suddenly began to sob and tears streamed down her face. Raduski was beyond himself with pity and emotion, he rose to his feet, moved his hands in despair, bowed to various pieces of furniture and rushed out of the room. Raduski had gained a pair of devoted and helpful friends.

The "Lzawiec Echo" appeared at first to become a really successful enterprise. But soon the "Lzawiec News" changed its tone of hypocritical praise into active hostility; lying reports, evidently emanating from the editor of the rival paper and the unprincipled lawyer Koszczyzki, were circulated about Raduski's private life, and finally a tempting offer was made for the purpose of buying him out and inducing him to retire into obscurity. Raduski, although he had lost heavily, stoutly refused. He still believed in the final victory of the ray of light which was to dispel darkness. Whether his experiment was ultimately crowned with success or ended in failure, the author does not tell. The novel is full of other incidents depicting the life and sufferings of the people. The writings of a pessimist may sometimes be truer to life than those of a great romancer.

(*To be continued*)

P. BRÜHL

Reviews

Leone.—*A Play in seven acts of Italian Nationalism?* by K. Gaubas, (Pp. 64. Heath Cranton, Ltd., 6 Fleet Lane, London, E. C. 4, Price 4 *s.* 6 *d.* net.)

Anything that deals with national movements has a special appeal to Indians just at present. Mazzini has ever been a great inspirer of our efforts. This little book could be read through in a couple of hours and that would be time well spent. One imagines that one might almost read Punjab instead of Lombardy and substitute for the Italian names our Indian ones and there would be very little else to change either in the plot or in the words to apply it to our own land. The Baron D'able is the typical bureaucratic governor and the author has hit the right nail on the head when he has made the Baroness Marie even a greater tyrant and a more subtle one. Leone, the hero, the idol of Lombardy, is not easily identifiable in India. He is a composite blend of several of our national leaders. He savours of Mahatma Gandhi especially when he says:

> Under no circumstances are they (the people) to resort to any sort of violence, from morning till evening every front door must be shut, every shop closed, and every sort of amusement banned.

The way in which he issues his orders and his express stipulation that people should follow him unconditionally if he is to be their leader are also echoes of Gandhism.

We also get the title-hunters and flatterers of the Government and all their petty spite against the patriot and their underground machinations stand revealed in bold outlines. This incident, too, probably reflects some secret history of the Punjab.

The question about real Lombardy is set quite at rest when Andre, the special "strong man" deputed to crush out the people's aspirations gives his narrative of the manner in which he accomplished his task (he is talking to Leone):

> ANDRE. A crowd of five thousand did assemble yesterday, and I did my duty.
> LEONE. Did you know the crowd was on its way for a mass service at the cathedral?
> ANDRE. No.
> LEONE. Did you employ any means to find out?
> ANDRE. No, Sir, because it was open rebellion.

LEONE. Was the crowd disorderly?

ANDRE. No, but it was a crowd.

LEONE. Well, did you ask them to disperse?

ANDRE. Yes, but they did not, and I told my soldiers to open fire.

LEONE. How long was it between your arrival and the first shot?

ANDRE. Half a minute.

LEONE. How many were killed and wounded in the crowd, do you think?

ANDRE. Five hundred killed and two thousand wounded.

LEONE. How many women and children were killed?

ANDRE. I did not count them, but I should say about one hundred.

LEONE. Did you care for the wounded?

ANDRE. That was not my duty.

LEONE. Oh, I see. But one thing more I have to ask you. Could you not disperse the crowd without shooting them?

ANDRE. Yes, I think it was quite possible. I could have dispersed the crowd, but they would have reassembled and the people would have laughed at me and I should have looked a fool.

This last speech ought to have been in inverted commas. It is only after reading this dialogue that one understands why the author calls his work a "Book of Untruthful Truth."

I. J. S.

The Future of the Indo-British Commonwealth :—By Josiah C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.C., with a Preface by Viscount Haldane, F.R.S., K.T., O.M. (Pp. xi, 251. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, Price Rs. 3-8.)

We have been favoured with an advance copy of the first volume of the new venture of the Theosophical Publishing House, THE ASIAN LIBRARY. The prospectus of this series, which has also been forwarded, says,

> Civilisation, considered only as material comfort and physical organisation, has failed. Deeper vision and a truer ideal is sought for, and it is felt that in the Genius of Asia, especially as it is expressed in the culture of India that has lasted through the rise and fall of Empires, there may be found the secret of happiness.

This Asian Library is, therefore,

> designed for the twofold purpose of rediscovering to Indians the extent and glory of the culture for which they are responsible, and to the level of which they must rise; and of giving to the world at large a knowledge of that culture and of the elements in it which make for the regeneration and permanent elevation of humanity.

This is a noble ideal worthy of the Theosophical movement and the great leader that is guiding it at present. If all the books promised in this series are to be of the same high standard and are inspired by the same

ideals as this first volume is then we may safely venture to prophesy that the object of THE ASIAN LIBRARY shall be achieved.

Both the writer of this little volume and the writer of the preface are well known in India as among the best friends of our land. They are both earnest workers who desire a widening out and purification of the old fashioned flag-waving patriotism of Western nations. This same fervour when purified and widened would lead to the "League of Nations" and ultimately to "Universal Brotherhood." Col. Wedgwood indicates the first step in this direction. There is a good bit of the world which now comprises the British Empire. There is variety enough of peoples, aspirations, interests, and cultures in it to furnish material for working out a common basis on which a "League of Nations" should stand. Just at present these varied peoples and lands are united under the political domination of the Union Jack. This is a unique opportunity for the British people to make their Empire a commonwealth of free nations. America, bound close to England by ties of common interests, common culture and common language, would easily come into such league and this commonwealth would become in the future the true parent of the "parliament of man and federation of the world" which our dreamers have dreamt of.

But Col. Wedgwood is not merely a dreamer. He is a man of action and he indicates clearly how the first practical steps are to be taken to construct a true Indo-British commonwealth broad-based on perfect equality of all the component parts. He says:

> When I called this book THE FUTURE OF THE INDO-BRITISH COMMONWEALTH it was because any world-union, built upon these free lines, must bring in Asia or it would inevitably fail, and deserve to fail....The Non-Co-operation of India takes away the keystone of the arch. We need Asia. In Asia is the danger to peace. The real danger is, in my opinion, so great that for safety, as well as for justice and world-peace, India must come in quickly.

These words tell us clearly and without any extra embellishment the exact motive of this remarkable book. He begins by reviewing the position of Britain and America after the war. He judges, and rightly judges, that Britain stands higher to-day than any other of the "Great Powers" in strength and in credit. Then he outlines the position of America equally strong and bound to Britain by so many ties of the past. He thinks that these two—the English-speaking races—should take the lead in the League of Nations and should lead the war-distracted world to a lasting peace. He then carefully examines the obstacles to the formation of a Commonwealth of free nations under three main headings—insolence, selfishness and ignorance. Next he pictures the British citizenship as it ought

to be and he tells us what he understands by the term "responsible dominions."

So far the book is an outline of the author's political philosophy and the following chapters are the practical application of it to those parts of the British Empire which have not yet attained Self-Government. His analysis of the situation is very clear. It reveals the heart of a knight-errant of old always ready to stand up for the weak and the oppressed. His two chapters on "India the Danger" and "India Freed" are very interesting and to the point. Another chapter of intense interest to us at the present moment is on "the Muslim World."

The language of the book is terse and forcible "for he is expressing deep-seated faith" (as Lord Haldane has put it). The Colonel does not mince his words and though occasionally not exactly "elegant" his expressions are "genuinely arresting." A few samples may serve to whet the appetite of the intending reader of the book:

> But it (British Empire) was an Empire only of White co-operation.
>
> Common nonsense is a surer lie than commonsense. The fool's cap unites better than a crown.
>
> What some call grab and others, the white man's burden.
>
> A State is best defended by the free-spirit of its citizens.
>
> And how nervous they (the "loyal" Indians) are, running about like a hen after her chickens, and making plaintive hesitating noises to the Government.
>
> What they (Indians) want is to have a direct voice in the stages towards Self-Government—a treaty not a gift.
>
> No series of Viceregal Circulars will induce him to compromise himself, particularly in the eyes of his wife, by treating a 'subject' as though he were a British Citizen.

But it would be better that every one interested in India would try to get this book and read it for himself. It stimulates thought and the extremist as well as the moderate would profit by reading and inwardly digesting this book.

POST-GRADUATE

Acknowledged with thanks—The *Mysore University Magazine* (July), the *Indian Review* (September), the *Hindustan Review* (October), the *Indian Antiquary* (October), the *London Quarterly Review* (October), the *Labour Leader* (weekly), the *Motherland* (weekly), the *Commercial Advertiser* (weekly), *Annual Report on the operations of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, Karmi* (Vernacular monthly), *Sekendar Shah* (Bengali Drama), *Karmaphal* (Bengali Novel), *Bengal Agricultural Journal* (March) and various Government publications.

POST-GRADUATE COUNCIL

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1921

THE MESSAGE OF RABINDRANATH

A great deal has been written in the newspapers and magazines regarding the exact significance of Dr. Tagore's recent utterances. But while a rather voluminous literature has gathered round the subject, very little has been said and written that is really satisfying. The reason is, that people are bewildered by the variety and importance of the issues raised. While the poet looks upon the issues as one complete whole, his readers and listeners take a fragmentary view and are completely lost in the variety of shapes and colours of the fragments. The issues in their isolation are no doubt a *rudis indigestaque moles*, but in their totality, they represent a harmonious, homogeneous whole.

To understand the poet's message, we have to keep carefully before us his fundamental standpoint, the standpoint, namely, of the complete man, *humanity in its totality*. It is a *Totalitätsdenken* which he has been advocating all his life and if we miss this point we miss the whole of his teaching. Rabindranath has always stood for the whole man, the human being in the totality of his qualities and functions. He won't have the fruits only, but he will have the whole tree, root, branch and all. What he

deprecates is the fragmentary view which looks upon only one aspect of humanity, ignoring the rest.

For this reason, when he talks of politics, he cannot ignore the social and cultural questions which are indissolubly bound up with politics. If it is education that he is discussing, he cannot forget the political questions that are raised by it. It is a total misconception of his teaching to say that he stands for the West. He stands neither for the West nor for the East, nor even for a mixture of the two, though perhaps such a mixture comes nearest to his doctrine of the complete man. Some light he gets from the West, some from the East, some he gets even from the North, and his genius brings all this varied light to a focus. This focus is समग्रज्ञानम्, as opposed to the खण्डज्ञानम् of the isolated rays.

Rabindranath's whole philosophy can be summed up in the one word "complete man," as Nietzsche's can be done by the one word "over-man," and Chamberlain's by the one word "over-race." The idea of the "complete man" implies not only the perfect realisation of all the latent faculties of man but also the perception of his oneness with his fellow beings. For this reason, the poet has said in an essay entitled, *The Day of the Festival*: "On the day of the festival, man is great because of his union with fellow-men, he is great in the realisation of the strength of the entire mankind." Isolation, therefore, in whatever form it may appear, is repugnant to the poet. When we live in isolation, we lose sight of truth, it is only when we feel the universe throbbing in our veins, that we have access to truth. "In isolation," says the poet, "is ugliness, in the One is beauty; in isolation is effort, peace dwells in the One; in isolation is discord, in the One is well-being."

It is clear, therefore, that the poet can have no sympathy with any doctrine which preaches isolation in any form. All water-tight compartments, whether in education, culture or politics, are alike repugnant to him. He has no patience

with those who like to see humanity divided into a number of mutually exclusive cultural zones. What he wants is humanity in its totality and not the crippled, mutilated humanity which emerges out of the innumerable religious and cultural divisions.

From what we have said above, it is clear that no education can be complete for a human being, if it gives only those ideas which we are pleased to call Eastern, any more than if it gives only those, which are dubbed Western. The whole wealth of knowledge and experience that mankind has acquired through centuries of toil and suffering must be placed at the disposal of the scholar if we want to train him properly. For the scholar, being a human being, is entitled to the *total human culture* and it won't do if we serve him with miserly doses of the world-culture calling these Eastern or Western. It is therefore, a fundamental mistake to impart an education that is purely Oriental or purely Occidental.

Moreover, no truth can be called purely Oriental or purely Occidental. Truth is an undivided whole. We cannot partition it off into two compartments, calling one Eastern and the other Western. Truth is a continuously developing whole and its state at any point depends upon all the previous states. Modern Science is said to be a Western product but it rests in no small degree upon the mathematical researches of the Indian scholars which were transmitted to the West through the contact of Greece with India and later, through the Arabian mathematicians India, too, has at all periods, absorbed whatever she found useful in Western culture. It is impossible therefore to say what is specifically Eastern or Western in any given culture.

It is only for the sake of convenience that we divide human culture into Eastern and Western. Certain ideas have dominated mankind in particular areas in particular periods and these historians, for convenience of classification, have designated by such names as Semitic, Hellenic, etc. But

Semitic ideas have ruled Hellenic ones and *vice versa*, and therefore these classificatory signs should never be allowed to rank as fundamental divisions of mankind. The moment we forget that they are mere convenient symbols, we split up humanity and divide it into water-tight compartments.

It is against this division into water-tight compartments that Rabindranath has fought and is still fighting with all the energy he can command. For this reason he cannot march with those ardent patriots who would avoid everything Western. There is no meaning, says Rabindranath, in refusing to profit by the results of Modern Science on the ground that it is Western. For Science is the common property of the whole human race and is no more Western than it is Eastern. Moreover, to shut ourselves up from the light which Science sheds will be to imitate the folly of the Tibetan monks who spend their whole lives in dark cells, completely shut out from the world. The inevitable result of such a folly will be to cripple our manhood, to make us less efficient than before for the struggle for existence. For if all the other nations of the world take the fullest advantage of the progress of Science, we shall simply be crushed out of existence if we refuse to take her help.

This, in brief, is Rabindranath's protest against the present Non-Co-operation Movement. If the present foreign Government is bad, if it is crippling our manhood, by all means non-co-operate with it. But why abandon Science, why shut out all culture which is the common heritage of mankind? The folly is on a par with that of the man who, as a Bengali proverb says, strikes his wife in retaliation for the injuries he receives from others. If an unsympathetic foreign administration is choking our manhood, there is all the more reason why we should make ourselves strong by utilising to the full the immense resources of Modern Science. If, owing to the apathy of an alien Government, foreign manufactures are driving our native products out of our

markets, we cannot remedy this evil by simply taking recourse to the *charka*, though the *charka* may be a useful instrument, if used in conjunction with power looms and power spindles. Boycott is no doubt a useful weapon but it alone cannot save us. What is needed is to produce in our own country the manufactures which we are importing from abroad and this can only be done by an enormous increase in the loom and spindle power of our mills with the help of Modern Science.

It is a pity the poet's points of divergence from Mahatma Gandhi have been more emphasised in his recent utterances than his points of union. His points of union with the Mahatma are many and various. Both are animated by the same ardent patriotism, by the same intolerance of wrong. Both are actuated by the same burning desire to restore their country to her last glories, by the same contempt for personal gain or loss. In their methods, too, they are not so divergent as people generally imagine. There is reason to believe that Rabindranath would have whole-heartedly supported Mahatma Gandhi if the latter had confined his movement within the limits of politics. Rabindranath was the first to give up his Knighthood as a protest against the Punjab wrongs. The letter which he wrote on the occasion of this renunciation of his title is perhaps the most valuable document that the Non-Co-operator possesses, for the grounds of Non-Co-operation are nowhere stated more clearly and vigorously.

But Rabindranath cannot see eye to eye with those who would like to have the principle of Non-Co-operation extended to other fields, particularly, to Science and Culture. Non-Co-operation here is the greatest folly that a nation can commit. Non-co-operate by all means with what is unrighteous, but it is a criminal folly to non-co-operate with Science and Philosophy. Such Non-Co-operation is suicidal. It perpetuates subjection, for subjection is born of weakness

and weakness, cannot be overcome except by flooding life with the light of Science and Philosophy.

It may be argued that the leaders of the Non-Co-operation Movement understand all this perfectly and that they preach the boycott of Science as only a temporary measure, to be abandoned when the country will attain Swaraj. But when a measure is fundamentally wrong, it cannot be accepted even as a temporary one. If a thing is intrinsically wrong, it makes little difference whether it is accepted for a long or for a short period. The mischief which it does to the character of an individual or of a nation is almost the same in both the cases.

To this question of a temporary suspension of Science, and indeed, all ordinary activities, Mahatma Gandhi has returned in an article which he has recently contributed to the "Young India" which is a reply to the charges brought by the poet against him and the Non-Co-operation Movement. The Mahatma says that during the late war, in each of the belligerent countries, the poet had to give up his lyre, the writer his pen and everybody his profession, in order to attend to the call of the country. Similarly, India is at present passing through a crisis and everybody has to give up all his other work and devote himself solely to the cause of his country. When fire breaks out, we have to stop all work and rush out of our house. Without pretending to guess in any way the poet's reply to this argument, it may be said that it is based upon false premises. The question is not whether or not our energies are to be concentrated upon saving our country. The whole question is, what is the best way of saving the country? Who knows but that the very Science which it is proposed to boycott is our best ally in our struggle to win Swaraj? If it is, then instead of shutting up our laboratories, we should rather open new ones wherever possible. Who knows but that the much-despised poet may be the very person we are in search of, to kindle

our patriotism. Moreover, the illustration of the fire does not seem to be a happy one. When fire breaks out, one has not only to leave the house but also to throw bucketfuls of water, and better still, use pumps and all the elaborate machinery of Fire Brigades. We may very well look upon scientific education as throwing these bucketfuls of water or calling in the aid of the Fire Brigade. The important thing to remember here is that Swaraj is a very complex thing, requiring for its attainment a most elaborate machinery. All the arts that mankind has up to now cultivated, all the sciences that human intelligence has discovered, will have to be brought into requisition to perfect the machinery of Swaraj. If Swaraj is therefore to be called a war, it is the war of the Spirit against Matter. Its munitions are the entire spiritual resources of humanity—all the love for truth which Science and Philosophy have engendered, all the wealth of devotion and renunciation which Religion has called into being. For the collection of such munitions, we require the fullest expression of our manhood, the most complete realisation of our humanity.

No boycott of Science and Culture can, therefore, be justified even as a temporary measure. If Science and Culture are needed for the development of our manhood, the need for them will be all the greater when we try by heroic methods to rush the pace of development. If Swaraj is to be attained within a year, the pace will have to be very much accelerated and this can only be done by giving a tremendous push to Science and Culture.

But Rabindranath does not believe that Swaraj can in any case be won within a year. It is a fundamental delusion, he says, to suppose that Swaraj can be won without rendering ourselves fit for it by a long process of education. Those who hold out hopes of a cheap and speedy Swaraj are, says the poet, like the musician who, when asked by his pupil to make a harp for him, says that he has only

to beat a string with a rod and it will become a harp in no time.

Indeed, Swaraj is to be looked upon as the crown of a completed and perfected humanity. It is the final stage in the process of development of our manhood.

The angels said in Goethe's "Faust" :—

Wer immer strebend sich bemüht
Den dürfen wir erlösen

Likewise, Swaraj is to be conceived as the culminating point of a toilsome process of self-realisation. It is to be remembered that no nation has yet achieved Swaraj, "for in every country there is lurking some greed or illusion which perpetuates bondage." If, therefore, we want to obtain that which no nation has yet been able to obtain, we must in every sense be superior to the rest of mankind.

To conclude, the ideal which the poet holds before us is the complete man, humanity in its totality. He asks us to remember that we are अमृतस्य पुत्राः, that whatever is narrow or one-sided is to be rejected as leading to death. In testing any political or social doctrine, we shall have to examine whether it leads from untruth to truth, from darkness to light, from death to the deathless. If it does not do this, then, however great the authority behind it, we have to reject it as being no principle for us. Politics divorced from Science, Science divorced from Philosophy, can therefore never serve as a guiding principle of life. It is a crippled, mutilated humanity which we obtain when we accept the East divorced from the West, or the West divested of the light from the East. We have always to bear in mind the words of our immortal Rishis :—

असतो मा सद्गमय, तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय, मृत्योर्मा अमृतं गमय।

SHISHIRKUMAR MAITRA

'NEATH THE MIDNIGHT SKY

Softly I walk 'neath the midnight sky,
Earnestly casting my eyes on high;
Silently glowing, the stars look down,
Watching the river, the valley, the town.

Puzzled, I ponder on problems old,
Asking the stars for the secrets they hold;
Wisely the stars with their golden light
Flicker, but answer me not from their height.

Naught do they tell of their circuits free,
Naught of the worlds that my eyes would see;
Naught do they tell me of whence I came,
Naught of what follows my short-lived flame.

Yet how enraptured I wander alone,
Watching the stars after daylight has flown,
Stars that were there when the earth was made,
Candles that glimmer but never fade.

WAYNE GARD

PROSE POEMS

Love Offerings

III

The vainest woman that ever looked in a glass never regretted her youth more keenly than I.....she has her portrait painted; I write these confessions; each hopes to save something of the past, and escape somehow the ravining waves of time and float into some haven of remembrance.

—*George Moore.*

Wherefore, O Heart of mine, art thou disquieted?
Why vex thyself so very needlessly
With this old so-called Riddle of Life and Death?
Life springeth but from Life—it *cannot* die!
Though, Proteus-like, it changeth. *Verbum sat!*
Yet look to it that every metamorphosis
Results in something worthier, ev'n of thee.
Meanwhile—Ho! Sāqi, bring me my Lute, and Wine;
For soon—too soon, alas!—cometh the End,
When we must render back our emptied Cup,
Gird us again, and so betake us hence.
Hence!—aye, but whither? To some other life—
Doubtless more complex—better, too, we trust!

*

I dreamed a dream of days gone by—a time when Light and Love shone bright; when no Discord marred Life's sweet song, and no Strife perturbed, no Malice poisoned, Love's pellucid stream; when Life was one divine harmony of Peace, of Love, of Innocence unsoiled. It was simply of my Childhood that I dreamed!

*

I am Liberty—man's loftiest conception, his dearest, his most coveted possession!

Many are my wounds—for mighty was the Foe in the long, sad past;

Encarnadined my Blade—for hydra-headed were the Dragons that it slew.

I am Honourable Pride—Tyranny's implacable opponent!

I rescue Thought from Bondage; I strike from every limb the galling shackles of Despotism;

In *all* I recognize the Sovereign Power—its burdens and its privileges;

I set no degrading value on Colour, Caste, or Creed;

I brook no hateful distinctions between man and man.

Mine is the Sword that smites the Wrong; mine the Shield that protects the Right;

Mine the Light that is freely outpoured everywhere, that radiates every sky, that shines for all

On the West I have already shed my Glory—long hath it enjoyed my Gifts;

To-day I shoot forth my Beams Eastward; Darkness, Chaos, and Trouble are already preparing to take flight;

Soon, like the morning mist, they will disappear, and give place, let us hope, to Refulgence, Beauty, and Joy!

Equality and Enlightenment are my Flower and Fruit;

Love is my Crown!

*

Bathed in tears and transported with joy, the Lover exclaimed: Is there aught in heaven to compare with—certainly there can be nothing to excel—Love's intoxicating rapture, Love's enchanting dream?

*

A woman's eye—what witchery, what caress, what passion, what charm, what poetry, what happiness lie therein! How it agitates, captivates, dominates us! How can man resist, when even the Gods succumb?

*

What Moses saw on Mount Sinai is but hidden in thy heart. Thou would'st see much nearer home if only thou had'st eyes to see.

*

Heaven is on thy lips; joy eternal in thine eyes; bliss supreme in thy caress; the fate of man in thy hands. Gold, jewels, flowers—all that is fair and lovely on earth—all, all is thine! But far, far above all things earthly, thine, thine is that unassessable, priceless treasure—the heart of man!

*

I kiss the hem of thy garment, O Night, I worship thee and adore. Thou only can'st take me to the barred apartments where my Beloved dwells, and thou alone can'st restore her to my arms. For is there aught that can check or hinder the flight of thought in Dreamland?

*

No meagre cup can satisfy the wine-bibber. So no dis vision will ever slake the thirst of lovers.

*

I believe not in prospective earthly pleasures, no joys that await the faithful in the world to come. shadowy, far-off hopes such as these would I forego brimming cup, the loving kiss, that cheer life's weary way.

*

Ah! the unsatisfied longings of the soul! the stifled yearnings of the heart! How plentiful they are! Was this thy promise, O Life? How hast thou belied it! How grievously hast thou deceived!

*

The gods smile—beware of them—those envious, mocking gods—who ever love to see us set on thorns, or plunged in woe.

*

Crumpled, shrivelled, wilted, the Rose sighed and said: Once a Queen of Faerie was I, streaming with gold, resplendent with gems, loved and honoured by all. Then into a Rose was I transformed. Love's ineffable token, worn on an immaculate bosom, as fragrant as myself, scanned by adoring eyes, locked by gentlest breathings! Lovely was I but luckless; sweet was I, but fragile—too fragile alas—to survive my glory, my honoured place, even for one brief day! And now here I lie, in a dust-heap, discarded and forlorn!—I who was Once a Fairy Queen, anon Love's sweet, tender pledge. And *now*? What grief or joy will *next* be mine? Ah! what a gamble is existence!

*

Dost thou really love me? asked the Lover. Or is it mere make-believe? For what are promises, vows, endearments, without truth and constancy?

*

Treasure Love's secret, Sweet; for they are Love's choicest flowers in Love's flowery way. Treasure Love's secret, Sweet, for they are an inexhaustible fount of joy.

*

No lute or lyre now charms the ear; no cheerful voices
; no banquet regales, where thou and I so often met
Swept by the wild world's tide, they are gone, for
e! Sorrow-stricken, long weaned from hope, nothing
mines my gloom.

*

of "thou and I"—what idle talk! "Thou
but a moment—the moment that spans two
l then "thou and I" are lost in an unimaginable
nd light.

*

Was it all a dream I dreamed, or a fairy-tale that I was told? sighed the Nightingale, when the Spring was gone and its smiling sun had set.

*

Look into thy heart, and see the vision of loveliness,—sweeter far than that of bud and blossom and bloom; look into thy heart and see the strength that giveth thy peers earth's fairest, laurelled crown. Though numbered be thy days, and sorrow be thy lot—yet what infinite possibilities are thine—thou that hast "all hope for harvest, all heaven for flight."

*

A thousand vanished images haunt the mind; a thousand joys rise from the dead; a thousand unfulfilled desires trouble the soul—when memory carries us back to the days that are no more.

*

Many sorrows have I, said the Lover, each enough to sting, to smite, to shatter the soul. Shall I hide them aw or shall I make them into a necklace for some sad Queer Hearts? What would'st thou have me do; tell me, O S what?

*

Give me once again, if for one moment only—great g give me but once again—Youth's unconquered hope, Lo bright, untarnished glow.

*

A tear or two—and, again, forward! The Caravan of L hath no time for more. Thus on and on do we trudge, Light faileth and Night enfoldeth us for ever more.

*

Neither a flower, nor a fruit, nor a sheltering place is mine in life's scheme? What purp show? Thus sighed a weary way-farer pl lonely path.

*

What ails thee, O Sāqi, what makes thee sigh and weep? Doth not the brimming cup enliven and the festive board cheer thy heart? Doth not this merry talk delight thee? Do not these sweet-scented flowers redouble thy joy? Doth not the Spring stir emotions within thee? Do the moon-beams kiss thine eyes for naught? What can it be that makes thee so sad? His answer was: I see tears lurking beneath thy laughter; I see [illegible]nt common alike to youth and age; I see that [illegible]e beyond the reach of man. 'Tis this t[illegible] this that makes me weep.

[illegible] the thought of Death:
[illegible]th bringeth Rest and Peace.
[illegible], need we dread the Power
[illegible] period thus to all our Woes?
What were this Earth-life, did it know no Death?—
Struggle unending; Pain perpetual;
Fetters, once fixed, never to be removed;
Evil triumphant; Sorrows ineffable!
Thus, said the Sāqi, in reality
Death is maligned; his is a kindly *rôle*.
'Tis not the actual, 'tis the fancied fears
That rack the soul of every Son of Man.
So hath it been, since Cycles first began;
So shall it be, when Time itself hath ceased;
So 'twill remain, till Mortals, merged for e'er
In Immortality, behold in so-called Death
Naught but the Portal to Eternal Life!

*

I see thee bowed in solemn devotion: I see thee lift thy hands in holy awe;
Thy heart is overflowing with fervent, silent prayer;
In unbroken meditation (*Zikr*) thou sittest out the night;
Thou offerest goodly gifts, and sheddest burning tears!

But do the Heavens for such things e'er relent?

Do the blind Fates one moment stay their hand?

Doth Death turn by one hair's-breadth from his course?

Ah no! What is to be will be—despite the gifts, the prayers, the tears, even the repentance of the Son of Man.

Go, wash thy piety in wine, and drown thy grief in song!

*

Bring some message of hope, Love; for life's bitter burden weareth me away! Bring some kindly light, Love; for all too quickly twilight giveth place to gloom!

*

Imagination! God's greatest gift to man! It buildeth heaven; it fashioneth ideals; it encircleth love with glory; it restoreth the vanished world of man. Boundless is its power, its kingdom without end!

*

How sweet to know thy love is mine! How sweet to feel thy arm about me thus! Would I defer this joy divine, and trust to time and chance?

*

Fill full the cup! For love's banquet is lovelier than the loveliest of dreams! Fill full the cup! For love's joys are sweeter than all the sweetest joys that Earth can yield.

*

Come to the garden, Love, and drink with me Life's choicest wine. Thy beauty will put the lilies and roses to shame; thy whisperings, even the nightingale.

*

We linger on from day to day—hoping, yearning, battling, praying unto the last. And yet, withal—naught see we but impenetrable gloom around us, naught hear we but Jove's thunder above!

*

If youth and bloom and all Earth's good things flee—be it so. We shall hold their memory dear, and, with the passing

years, 'twill even grow dearer. That, at least, is ours—and ever will be ours—ours to feast on, ours to cherish, ours to cheer us along life's dim-lit path.

*

In this house of ever-changing visitors, of ever-shifting scenes, I too have dreamed my dreams, I too have lived my days. Blissful were those days, and radiant those dreams. But, now that the dreams are fled, the days gone, and this sweet visit nearing its end, naught but illusion confronts me—naught but illusion all.

*

In vain, O Sun, dost thou burst through the clouds; in vain dost thou seek to reveal thy splendour. Henceforth, for me, no sun will ever rise, no light ever shine. My longing gaze will ever long—my yearning heart will ever yearn—in vain.

*

Life—this prison of our own choosing! Wisdom looks at it with mingled scorn and pity; pity for its jewelled sorrows, scorn for its gilded chains.

*

Let me kiss thy tresses, and with thy dimples let me play: for ineffably sweet is life with the loved one nigh. Love may live or Love may die; but this none can doubt, that sweet—passing sweet—is Love's roseate dawn.

*

In this valley of ever-deepening gloom we cry for light, and never cease to cry; but light cometh not, cry as we will.

*

Ah, Love's first sweet, impassioned kiss! It thrilleth the heart with joys before unknown; it filleth the mind with visions unutterable; it sealeth Love's mutual pledge of love; it bindeth two enraptured souls with a divinely fashioned chain of gloriously linked and unspeakable bliss!

*

Ah, that first timid touch of the priceless chalice of Love! Ah, that first intoxicating draught of the nectar of the gods! The first kiss of Love! Its initial uncertainty—then the moment when all uncertainty vanisheth in mutual surrender, in reciprocal rapture! Even when youth has fled down the mist-wrapped aisles of the past; even then, never can its memory fade!

*

What! Back again, and so gaily?—shedding light and lustre as of yore. But what is there now for thee to take, thou who hast already stolen all that there was to steal—this little heart of mine?

*

What matters it, whether sad or happy be our lot? What matters it, whether short or long be our day? What matters, what avails? Are we not all too soon but dust and ashes, out of sight, out of reach, beyond mortal weal and woe?

*

In the radiant cloudland of Love, sighed the Lover, no speed is swift enough for Love's pulsing, hungry heart; no speed, forsooth, is swift enough; for Love knoweth no patience, nor doth it brook delay.

*

The crescent moon; the star-lit sky; the gentle, fragrant breeze; the silvery gliding stream—where heaven and earth are in perfect, loving accord; here alone are we to-night, thou and I! Kiss me, Love, for Time is on the wing, and Night is fast slipping away.

*

Spring hath come, and will always come, setting the Earth ablaze with blossom and bloom, thrilling the heart of youth with passions sweet, and intoxicating it with golden dreams. But for us, weary travellers, worn with age, it hath one solemn message, and only one: all on earth is fleeting—all must vanish, all must go!

*

These pleading eyes plead with Fate in vain! This suffering heart, weighted with life's crushing load, seeks relief, but alas and alas.....! The beckoning hand inviteth to naught but death and the darkness of the tomb.

*

Those dews that gleam and glisten—too delicate to outlive the dawn—are they not tearful heralds that proclaim the brevity of existence, our sad mortality?

*

Unrequited love! Unseen, it bears the martyr's cross; unseen, it wears the martyr's crown.

*

Why set thy heart on things that pass and never can be thine? All this pomp and power, all this wealth and glory: they are mere illusion, distractions which lure us away from reality; snares which ensure our fall. Flee from their influence, flee if thou would'st be what thou wert meant to be.

*

Death?...Ay, upon this fair Earth we know him well!
Somewhere on every path he waits—even for us.
None may evade that meeting. Nay, since Life
Can never cease, Death should be even welcome;
For think! The sooner that he greeteth us,
By so much sooner do we enter on
Our next all-glorious Youth—its gift divine,
A Body better suited to the needs
Of our abounding life. Yet happiest he
Whom the Great Reaper, when he cometh, finds
Battling, however humbly, for the Right.
To him be Homage paid, the Anthem raised;
For him the Palm, the wreath-deck'd Cenotaph;
Indelibly inscribed on the bright Honour-Roll
Of the World's Deathless Army, lo, his name
Liveth for ever in the hearts of all!

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

HIGHER TEACHING IN THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

The University of Calcutta signifies to-day something totally different from what it meant in the 19th century or practically in the first five decades of its eventful career. Since its creation right up to the first decade of the present century this University followed the old 'traditional' lines. From its foundation in 1857—in pursuance of the recommendations contained in the celebrated Despatch of 1854—the University continued its slender growth as an independent corporation quite distinct from the Colleges which imparted teaching to the alumni of the University. The University was, therefore, meant primarily as an examining body. It granted and withheld the 'license' or affiliation to the Colleges, prescribed the necessary curricula, laid down rules for the presentation of candidates at the several examinations and finally conducted these examinations. The policy of the London University was at that time accepted as "the final word of educational statesmanship."

The Calcutta University, it cannot but be admitted if the truth is to be told, was not then a place of learning. It was not really a corporation of scholars. There was no happy comradeship among men who had devoted their lives to the dissemination of knowledge and the advancement of learning. It was chiefly due to two reasons. There was no synthesis between the colleges and the University. And the teachers as such had no recognised position of their own in the University. The University was practically a group of administrative boards, dictating the courses and conducting the examinations without consulting the colleges or the teachers. The University stood in a position of proud isolation—neither contributing to, nor strengthening the intellectual

resources of the ill-equipped colleges, or the mental equipment of the students. The teachers upon whom devolved the task of training men for life had little control over the colleges or the organisation of examinations in the University.

With the expansion of University education the need was felt for more and more devolution of educational control both to enlist public sympathy and foster local activity. The colleges, much against their will, had to shoulder the burdens and responsibilities of post-graduate instruction, as the desire for it steadily grew. There was still the same lack of co-ordination between the University and the colleges—the same defective supervision by the University—the same neglect of the teachers both in the spheres of instruction and examination.

In 1904 was passed the Indian Universities Act. And the old order changed yielding place to new. There could be no college after 1904 which would impart post-graduate instructions without previous affiliation to the M.A. standard. Before 1904 there was practically not a single college which had been affiliated to the standard of the M.A. examination of the Calcutta University. The old regulations did not insist upon proper instructions being imparted to the M.A. candidates, and most of the colleges had neither the staff nor the resources to provide adequate instruction in any department of post-graduate teaching. Only a few colleges sent up candidates. But no regular classes were held, no regular staff appointed, no teaching or tutorial facilities systematically afforded to the students even in those colleges. This unsatisfactory state of things was put an end to by the Indian Universities Act, 1904, which ushered in a new era in the history of higher teaching in the Indian Universities.

Section 3 of the Indian Universities Act authorises the University to appoint Professors and Lecturers for the instruction of students and made the promotion of study

and research an essential function of the University, and Chapter IX of the University Regulations, promulgated in pursuance of the Universities Act itself, laid down that "the University shall provide for post-graduate teaching, study and research in the Faculties of Arts and Science." The Universities were thus called upon to assume teaching functions. To an enquiry as to how many colleges would take up post-graduate work not a single college at first responded. After some hesitation only two colleges, the General Assembly's Institution and the Presidency College, applied for affiliation in a few subjects to the M.A. Standard under the new Regulations. In 1908 the University for the first time exercised its authority in appointing persons connected with affiliated colleges as University Lecturers under Sec. 2 of Chapter IX of the new Regulations. It was a remarkable step in the annals of the University. Mr. Wordsworth and Dr. Harrison, two Professors of the Presidency College, were appointed University Lecturers in 1908. And the next year the University appointed 18 University Lecturers—the majority of whom were to deliver lectures at Calcutta and the rest at Dacca, Rajsahi and Patna. The rapid increase in the number of students, the improvement in the standard of the new M.A. courses and the unsatisfactory nature of the initial arrangements compelled the University to move onwards. The University appointed Assistant Professors and other whole-time teachers who devoted themselves exclusively to post-graduate teaching in the University. Next came the appointment of University Professors to supervise and co-ordinate the work done by the Lecturers in their respective departments. And the mere enumeration of the names of the distinguished scholars who adorned the Professoriate of the University would at once justify the changes introduced—Mr. Monohar Lal as Minto Professor of Economics, Dr. Brajendranath Seal as George V Professor of Philosophy, Dr. Young as Hardinge Professor of Mathematics, Dr. Thibaut

as Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History, Dr. Stephen as Professor of English, and Dr. Otto Strauss as Professor of Comparative Philology. The new system improved the higher teaching in the University, provided regular instruction in subjects which could not be so long undertaken by the affiliated colleges—*e.g.*, Pure Mathematics, Comparative Philology, Pali, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit,—and secured for the University a staff of distinguished scholars. But there were serious defects in the working of this system—due to a regrettable feeling of distrust and jealousy between the University and some of its colleges. The affiliated colleges had not the resource adequate enough to meet the increasing demand for instruction in the M.A. and M.Sc. courses and even those who did participate in M.A. teaching distrusted the University which, on the other hand, was suspicious of the colleges. Apart from the loss of energy and resources due to the multiplication of post-graduate teaching in the different colleges—working in water-tight compartments—the spirit of jealousy and rivalry produced many unhappy results.

In 1916 the Government of India appointed a Post-Graduate Committee under the presidency of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee to consider the question of post-graduate studies in the University. On the Committee sat some of the foremost educationists of this country: Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. Brajendranath Seal, Dr. Hayden, Mr. Hornell, Mr. Wordsworth and others who were unanimous in their recommendations. The Government of India forwarded the report of the Committee to the University for consideration and ultimate action in case of approval by the Senate. The report was the subject of elaborate discussions by the Senate and was ultimately incorporated into the University regulations by the necessary amendment of Chapter XI of the Regulations. The most important feature in the new system which is still in vogue and which had been the subject of

much criticism both before and after its initiation, should be noted. The new regulations abolished the affiliating system in Calcutta and replaced it by a new organisation wherein post-graduate teaching can be conducted only in the name and under the control of the University. The affiliation of the Presidency College and the Scottish Churches College in certain subjects for the M.A. and M.Sc. examinations accordingly lapsed.

The Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science were set up to work and control post-graduate teaching in Calcutta. The Board of Higher Studies in each subject consists of primarily the teachers of the University in that subject, three persons selected by the Council from among its members and a few members co-opted by the Board from the post-graduate teachers outside Calcutta. The Board elects its own Chairman who supervises the teaching arrangements in the department and enforces the decisions of the authorities in that behalf. The Board also initiates proposals regarding the courses of study, text-books, standard and conduct of examinations, appointment and remuneration of teachers, arrangements of teaching, distribution of work among the teachers, the preparation of the time-table and the appointment of examiners.

The proceedings of the Boards of Higher Studies are subject to confirmation by the Executive Committee which is composed of two representatives of each of the branches of study, elected by the staff in that subject from among themselves, two members elected by the Senate and one member elected by the Faculty of Arts or Science. The Executive Committee receives and considers reports from the Boards of Higher Studies, confirms their proceedings, prepares the agenda for the Council and co-ordinates and regulates the work of the University and the discipline among the students.

Over all is the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching which is vested with the authority to deal with all questions relating

to the work and management of post-graduate teaching. It works, of course, subject to the ultimate control of the Senate. But the Senate cannot, and as a matter of fact does not, reverse or amend the recommendations of the Council. The Council is really a federation of the Boards. It is practically an academic Senate—mainly composed of the teachers who sit there *ex-officio*. Its predominantly academic character is to some extent tempered by the admission of a few distinguished scholars who come as elected representatives of the Senate, or the Faculty of Arts or Science, or as heads of first-grade colleges in Calcutta. The Council elects its own President who is also the *ex-officio* President of the Executive Committee. Elaborate regulations have also been prescribed defining the position and the functions of the Syndicate and the Senate with regard to the post-graduate organisation in the University and the financial arrangements of the post-graduate department. The highly complicated procedure in the method of appointing University teachers is worthy of note. The name of a teacher is first recommended by the Board of Higher Studies. It then goes through the Executive Committee to the Council. After the confirmation of the Council it is transmitted through the Syndicate to the Senate. When it receives the sanction of the Senate it is notified to the Government of India within one week from the date of the decision of the Senate. If the remuneration of the teachers concerned is to be paid out of funds supplied by the Government of India, the previous sanction of the Government is essential. In other cases the Government of India can object to an appointment within six weeks from the receipt of the notification on other than academic grounds. Subject to this final approval of the Government of India an appointment by the Council takes effect from the confirmation of the Senate.

The new system was introduced in September, 1917 and has been working only for four years It is, therefore, now

too early to pronounce a final verdict upon this system. The new system was inaugurated in an atmosphere of suspicion and prejudice. There were influential and distinguished members of the Senate who were opposed to the centralisation of post-graduate teaching in the University. There were representatives of the colleges who would be affected by the new system and who evinced considerable anxiety as to how it would affect their authority and weaken their influence. There were again others who were totally opposed to the elimination of the College as a factor in post-graduate work. The colleges were the only institutions which had up till 1906 been entrusted with the work of teaching and even after 1906 did a considerable share of post-graduate work. Thus a radical change which would take away M.A. teaching from the colleges and concentrate it in the University would naturally be opposed by the educationists of the old regime. The college had so long been the predominant factor in the educational system of this country, the college had so long been the only avenue to higher education in Bengal, and the University had played so little a part in it, that it was deemed an academic heresy to suggest that higher teaching can be imparted and that the academic life may be lived anywhere else but in the Colleges. Tradition was thoroughly wedded to the affiliating system and it was difficult to overcome the traditional views.

The post-graduate department in the Calcutta University has brought under the banner of our *alma mater* a corporation of scholars and researchers. It has really laid the foundations of a sound University organisation. It is the realisation of a great ideal. No higher education worth the name is possible unless a scholar harnessed to the work of teaching is himself engaged in extending the bounds of knowledge. Those who realise that education is a system which requires scientific handling must grasp the patent fact that any adequate effort to impart higher teaching in a

modern and progressive University must comprise many fields, must extend over a wide variety of subjects and must secure 'co-operative' effort. No teaching in Indian history can achieve its real purpose unless it includes archæology, fine arts, social and constitutional history and various other subjects which might strike as novel to students of older generations. The world outside is progressing fast and the working of the old educational policy for the last half a century had revealed serious defects and errors. A modern University charged with the great mission of advancement of learning and saddled with a statutory obligation of imparting post-graduate instruction to all seekers of truth must quicken her pace, must radically alter her whole educational outlook, must introduce comprehensive measures of reform, and must never hesitate in breaking new grounds. And thanks to the organising ability and the creative genius of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the University of Calcutta has moved on with the vital current of the age.

The University Commission of 1902 strongly recommended the provision of instruction in the sphere of post-graduate and advanced studies. The Commission recommended "that the Universities should justify their existence as teaching bodies by making further provision for advanced courses of study." The Universities Act of 1904 codified this very principle. But among the various Indian Universities which had been dragging on their slender growth, it is only the Calcutta University which has to some extent been successful in making itself a teaching body in accordance with the principle laid down in 1904. It can safely be asserted that among the Indian Universities Calcutta is the only University which has carried out the obligation of being a teaching University by directly undertaking post-graduate instruction. With most of the other Universities the Indian Universities Act remained practically a dead letter. The Calcutta University has concentrated and to a great extent

consolidated the teaching resources of Calcutta, and this happy result is, to a large extent, due to the post-graduate organisation which was set up in 1917.

The post-graduate department has drawn together into a common brotherhood a large number of scholars and researchers devoted to the common purpose of training up the youth of Bengal, and inspired by a common zeal in extending the frontiers of knowledge. It has secured for the teachers a recognised position in the body politic of the University. It has given them an effective voice in the shaping of the curricula, the organisation of teaching and the conduct of examinations. It has opened out brilliant opportunities of higher studies and research to indigenous talent and scholarship. It has practically Indianised the University staff—thus making the professoriate alive to the needs of the community and better able to mould the character and influence the lives of the students. It has also given an impetus to oriental studies—ancient Indian History and Culture, Pali, Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese, and Islamic History and Culture. It has further given a great stimulus to the development and scientific study of the Indian vernaculars. In a word, it has Indianised the courses of study and has given a distinctly nationalistic outlook to the higher teaching in the University. In the field of science the schools of Sir P. C. Ray and Prof. Raman and other distinguished researchers have worked miracles and have spread the name of the University of Calcutta throughout the scientific world. The post-graduate department has thus set up an educational organisation unique of its kind in the history of the Indian Universities. It has supplied Professors and Readers to the new Universities of India,—to Patna, Dacca and Lucknow,—and they are all vying with each other in enlisting the services of the Post-Graduate teachers of the Calcutta University.

The post-graduate organisation has very serious defects of its own. As the Calcutta University Commission has pointed

out in unmistakable language,—and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was a member of that Commission—the present scheme of post-graduate studies in the University labours under serious drawbacks. The present constitution provides wonderful facilities for conflicts and deadlocks, in case of disagreement between the Senate and the Council. The next important drawback is the cleavage between the post-graduate and the under-graduate teaching in the University—resulting in an unnecessary duplication of Boards and Faculties. Lastly the development of the post-graduate system in the University is likely to prejudice the colleges—their status, their prestige and their efficiency. Hence, the need of a more unified and better co-ordinated system which will secure a happy synthesis, a real co-operation between the colleges and the University. The multiplicity of organisations, the large number of Boards, the huge size of the Council make it almost impossible for an ordinary teacher with no administrative experience to run the machinery without difficulty or friction. Hence, the democratic element in this essentially teaching organisation hesitates and is to some extent handicapped by the defects in the constitution in taking the full initiative and in exercising the full control over all matters, academic or administrative, in the actual working of the post-graduate system. The democracy—and here the demos is essentially one of teachers,—has, therefore, placed itself under the guidance of one resourceful administrator who has the necessary experience and the practical sagacity to secure harmonious and conjoint action.

The post-graduate department has recently been subjected to many an onslaught from different quarters. The critical stage has now been reached in the development of the Calcutta University, and we hope that the University will survive this crisis. Whatever may be the ultimate fate of the present post-graduate organisation, it has afforded valuable experience and has opened out a remarkable chapter in the history of

Indian education. It has taught many lessons which should neither be ignored nor forgotten. It is difficult to overcome all the obstacles, to baffle all the impediments which hamper the proper working of this organisation—the defects of its origin, the want of financial resources, the lack of sympathy and generous appreciation of the good work achieved.

When the dust and storm of the present controversy is allayed, this teaching and research organisation will rehabilitate itself in the popular mind. But those who are apt to criticise its activities should remember that all the academic ills are not of its own making. The University, constituted as such under an Act of the State, and working under the orders of the Government, had to tackle the question of post-graduate teaching almost as an isolated problem on its own merits. This post-graduate organisation was not planned as the pivot of a comprehensive scheme for educational reconstruction. The greatest defect in the present system of education in this unfortunate country is that it has "got out of gear with the economic needs of the nation." This ancient country—equipped with literary culture—now wants to be reborn into an industrial life—filled with a new spirit of industrial enterprise, and awake to the claims and opportunities of a great industrial awakening. Hence, this distaste for literary culture, this prejudice against higher studies, this dislike towards 'orientalia' and research. This spirit should be properly nursed and directed and utilised. This new awakening should be satisfied by affording vocational and industrial education. But it is a positive mistake to play upon this new spirit in destroying the great organisation for higher studies and research which has been reared up in the University of Calcutta,—and which has placed before the country the conception of a new type of University, directly responsible for the conduct of its higher teaching—a University which not merely examines,

but also educates. Educational reform is certainly needed and Bengal now demands new types of education which will make her youth more practical, more productive, better able to contribute to the social well-being of the whole nation. But in this new reconstruction the usefulness of a teaching and research institution should not be lost sight of. Some place should still be assigned to a teaching University which "must denote more than mere examination, must undertake more than mere control, must offer more than mere instruction." Nevertheless, as the Calcutta University Commission had observed, "the ideals of a new age call insistently for a new purpose in education." The educational aims should be changed, the policy should be altered, the constitution radically modified, in a word, the whole system must be completely readjusted, so as to accentuate the more practical aspects of education, so as to equip the future students of the country more and more for industrial and commercial careers. But in a blind frenzy for vocational and commercial education we must beware of the "iconoclasts of culture," lest their narrow outlook—coloured by vulgar commercialism—should destroy all seats of culture, all organisations for higher teaching and research, all intellectual centres which ensure the real progress of the country and broaden the civic outlook of the nation.

To those who are urging the reforms of the University our appeal should be for sympathy, for charity, and for constructive criticism. Their efforts to serve the University and to rescue it from the danger of ruin will be far better appreciated, if every destructive criticism levelled at our *alma mater* should accompany some constructive suggestion with a proper appreciation of her limited resources. Every reformer who suggests measures of reform in a spirit of sympathy and co-operation deserves our undying gratitude. But the reformer should remember that University education is a great asset in the evolution of our national life, and,

before he indulges in sweeping generalisations and wholesale condemnations, he should further note how the education imparted by the University influences the whole texture of our national life, and how it profoundly affects the whole movement of our national thought.

NIRMALCHANDRA CHATTERJEE

LIFE

Life is like a wayside bloom
The butterfly disdains,
But where the probing honey-bee
Finds nectar for her pains.

WAYNE GARD

MY FEATHERED FRIENDS

The Summer of 1917 found me in a lonely village, without company and twenty miles away from the nearest library. In a week or so I began to wonder why philosophers loved solitude so much and sometimes I really suspected their sincerity. Time hung heavily with me and something had to be done to kill it and so I turned to the birds. It was their breeding season and a little search was enough to find many beautiful little nests with tiny eggs. The rest of the summer passed away like a happy dream and I was loth to leave my village home when the college reopened.

The bird that first attracted my attention was naturally our good little *tuntuni*, called *Orthotomus sutorius* by pedantic ornithologists, I know not why, and the "tailor-bird" by plain Englishmen for the wonderful cup-shaped nest it builds inside a clever little leafy bag sewn with no other needle than its long straight beak. It has figured largely in our nursery tales. We had listened, while little children, with rapt attention and wonder, how a little *tuntuni* had wreaked terrible vengeance on a despotic king and seven queens, all because of the loss of its nest. The poor victims had all been sadly mutilated. The queens had lost their shapely noses and the king his posteriors. We had unbounded admiration for the little bird's intelligence and diplomacy and an undefinable awe for its vindictiveness. Another story, tells how another *tuntuni* had moved heaven and earth because a foolish barber had the temerity of refusing a request—he would not leave his bed at the dead of night to remove a *begun* (brinjal) thorn that had pierced the *tuntuni's* back. But this was not the only reason why the tailor bird was my first favourite. I could not possibly ignore it. Its loud *twit twit twit* could be heard from morning to evening and it was seen ceaselessly

hopping from twig to twig, from shrub to shrub and bush to bush, an embodiment of life and delight, now taking a short flight and now stopping to pick a worm and then finally disappearing mysteriously in some secret hiding place, which I had passed and repassed seven times that morning without suspecting that the curved leaf of the young solitary *dumur* (fig) that almost reached the ground contained the loud-voiced tailor's nest with three tiny living balls of feather in it. And the eggs of Mrs. *Tuntuni*, they are interesting too. Mr. Frank Finn writes about them; "The eggs are, according to Mr. Hume, most remarkably variable, for although always spotted with reddish brown, they may have either a white or a bluish green ground colour." Her eggs, however, are not always spotted, for in some nests I found white eggs with reddish brown patches at the broader end. Mr. *Tuntuni* again wears a bridal dress in the breeding season although it is by no means so bright and pompous like that of his neighbour the "weaver bird" or *babui*. In the breeding season the male *tuntuni* gets a few very long tail feathers so that the tail actually grows longer than the tiny body that bears it. Mr. *Tailor* proudly displays his tail now raising, now lowering and finally making a few of it, while his loud merry *twit twit twit* goes on. And our nursery tales were true! He is a terrible fighter and unlike the timid "weaver" has got a nasty temper, and two male *tuntunis* are seldom seen together. But inspite of their bad temper and extraordinary cleverness the *tuntuni* is duped by the cuckoo in Southern India, where she unwittingly cares for the eggs and young ones of the plaintive cuckoo, as do her English cousins, the Reed Warbler, Sedge Warbler and Orphean Warbler, who rear the cruel young English Cuckoo to find to their dismay later on, that the child they had loved so well was not theirs at all! But who knows, perhaps they are not undeceived but fondly cling to the dear mistake.

Popular belief ascribes to our *tuntuni* an amount of vanity that like the loudness of its voice, is quite out of proportion

with its tiny feathers. It is said that when monsoon breaks out and clouds gather dense and black, and storm wind shrieks and rain pours in torrents, the little *tuntuni* lies on her back in her nest with her small legs towards the sky, confident that if the impossible happens and the skies fall down her legs are strong enough to hold them up and save her rest with its treasures. A friend of mine had assured me that this was literally true as he had seen with his own eyes. So whenever it rained or stormed that summer, I visited all the *tuntuni* nests I knew, four or five in all, in the fond hope that very soon mine would be the proud privilege of being an eye-witness of the curious 'though foolish' self-confidence of our little feathered friend. But I was sadly disappointed; the *tuntuni*, vain and clever as she is, behaved just like all other birds. She sat on her eggs or her youngs with her wings outstretched, sheltering them from rain and cold. Fiction has many wonders which nature lacks. The *chakors*, it is said, live on the nectar of the moon, and my childish fancy had created a wonderful bird with strong gaudy wings and remarkable soaring powers, that nearly reached the moon and revelled in the nectar that was nightly poured out for her from the cup of a friendly lunar spirit. But alas! what disillusioning was it when I saw the real *chakor*, a partridge (with painted wings it is true) of poor flight, that picked its food from the dust of the earth like our ordinary domestic fowl. Then I was told that the male *chakor* swallows with impunity and relish burning red-hot coals in the breeding season. The accuracy of this statement I had no opportunity to test. So also the fowl of our poets have no sexual instinct and their hens bear eggs by some artifice unknown to nature, but the real pea-hens have to meet real cocks before they can conceive! But probably my friend was not entirely wrong; perhaps the *tuntuni* that *he* knew was inordinately vain, while all of my acquaintance were modest ones.

Fiction, however, is not always false. The *tuntuni* of our nursery tales had a wonderful nest built entirely of gold tooth-picks thrown away after a day's use by an extravagant Indian Raja. But though the ordinary *tuntunis* are contented with a neat straw cup lined with silk cotton and soft feathers, there are some birds with more costly tastes. Crows have taste for bright metals, as a Bombay optician learnt to his cost. The following occurs in *The Common Birds of Bombay* by "Eha." "It is not many years since a pair living in the Fort discovered a real El Dorado in an Optician's shop. They worked that mine so stealthily and cleverly that before they were discovered they had succeeded in abstracting about Rs. 400 worth of spectacle frames, which they had worked up into a very superior nest, combining durability and lightness like a 'helical tube.' The museum of the Bombay Natural History Society contains a ponderous nest made entirely of iron wire, taken apparently from the ruins of railway fences." Bombay crows must have imbibed their rich taste from their fellow citizens, the merchant princes! A Dacca crow once requisitioned the property of his neighbour, a lantern maker, and when the son of the angry victim pulled down the clumsy structure, it was found to consist of bright pieces of tins and small sticks in equal proportion! Poor bird! he could not forget that Dacca was once the capital of a Nabob, and he had rich tastes but he could not find anything better than tin in the twice deserted metropolis.

The Calcuta crows cannot vie with their Bombay brothers in wealth and pomp, but for boldness they know no superior. They freely levy their *chauth* and in their plundering raids make little distinction between black and white. Like impartial Judges they make no racial distinctions and are equally conspicuous near the Sahib's table and the Hindu kitchen. The Calcutta crow builds its nest in the most exposed places, having little fear of man's inquisitiveness or interference. Two years ago, a pair selected a most curious

site for their nest, and I am ready to bet a pice that none of my readers can guess where it was. But I shall not keep the secret all to myself. A number of broken desks were heaped outside the Senate House near the wall that separates our compound from Madhab Baboo's Bazar. A broken stool however was placed, I know not by whom, in the fork of a *Karavi* tree that still stands there. And inside that stool, placed upside down, scarcely three feet from the ground, I found one day to my wonder a pair of crows busy heaping up, in the most clumsy manner imaginable, sticks and twigs by way of preparing for the arrival of their prospective family. Perhaps it was a young pair building for the first time. impelled by parental instinct and they took little account of the dangers of such an unsafe place within the reach of every inquisitive boy that might pass by. I was naturally eager to have this curious nest in the *Karavi* fork photographed, but when I returned to the place the next day, what was my sorrow and vexation to find the stool gone! Some stupid Darwan in a khaki *Urdi* with C. U. emblazoned in red thereon, had evidently disturbed the birds and removed the convenient receptacle of their nest. But the birds had not gone. A few days later I found them as diligently employed as before in piling stick and twigs in another stool which was somewhat concealed beneath the stupendous heap of broken desks but scarcely a foot from the ground. But perhaps I was not the only interested watcher, my rival in the khaki had discovered the new abode also and this time he took away the twigs and, I suspect, made fuel of a prospective nest. Foiled for the second time, the crows left the place and, let us hope, found a safer site for their nursery somewhere else. A wise pair of kites built their nest last year, on the roof of Messrs. S. K. Lahiri & Co., just behind the water tank and the nest with a young bird could be plainly seen from Shamacharan De Street. Rural birds however are not so bold. They prefer the leafy solitude and shelter of the topmost branches

of the tallest tree available and there hatch their eggs quite beyond the ken of *Homo Bengalensis*. But there must be some difference between city-folk and country-folk and familiarity, they say, breeds contempt.

A really interesting nest that I saw for the first time in 1917 was that of the crow-pheasant, the *Mahoka* of up-countrymen, and *Koukal* of the Bombay people. It is called *Kukhkha* in my part of Bengal and is on the whole an uninteresting bird. It is generally seen walking on the ground in search of food and when frightened hides itself in the nearest thicket. When disturbed it takes wing no doubt, but cannot fly long. The Muhammadan peasant, who is fond of *Kukhkha* meat, finds little difficulty in spearing a bird of such poor flight. Old village folk still believe that this crow-like bird with brown wings, red eyes, and unshapely black body and zygodactyle feet are really responsible for the multiplication of one of the most venomous of cobras, the *Keutia* of Bengal. According to them the *Keutia* has no male of their own species and finds in the *Kukhkha*, her feathered neighbour, a suitable mate. The truth is, however, quite the contrary. What is popularly believed to be amorous sport is in reality, the life and death struggle between the bird and the reptile in which the wings and the fangs are freely used.

Although the *Kukhkha* looks more like a crow it really belongs to the cuckoo family. Its note, though not at all musical, has some similarity with that of *Koel*. But it has a self-respect all its own; it is not a parasite. It builds its own nest and affectionately performs all the parental duties, that nature demands of a wedded couple.

The crow-pheasant is a common bird in our villages and can be seen any time in a grassy meadow or a thick bush. But for a long while I had not been able to discover its nest. One morning when I was watching a *Mynah*, a crow-pheasant suddenly caught my eye, persistently pecking at a cocoanut leaf. At last it succeeded in tearing out a long piece and flew

away with it. I followed the bird and to my great delight discovered its nest which was not far off. A small *Hijal* tree overgrown with country cane bent over a small *nala* and what seemed to be the thickest part of the cane bush was really the nest of the crow-pheasant. It was a perfect globe with a single hole which formed the door. Inside the globe was the real nest built of twigs and straw. The whole structure was, however, too small for the bird so that when it sat on the eggs, its long black tail could be seen protruding out. But the shape of the nest is not what extorted my admiration. It was the sagacious precaution of the bird that carried strips of green cocoanut leaves every morning to its globular home and stuck them on to it in such a manner that they looked just like the foliage of the surrounding cane reeds. The nest could not therefore be easily discovered. I had all along been under the delusion that as the building operations were still going on it would be unwise to look for eggs in the nest. But at last my suspicions grew strong and I decided to disturb the birds. I found three white eggs, which were already hard set, and the birds had been all the time carrying cocoanut leaves! If it was instinct alone, it must be very akin to intelligence.

That summer I made another discovery. A discovery great enough to make the heart of any amateur leap in joy. Like "Eha" I had my "pigs." And one of them brought me one afternoon what he called "a *Shalik's* egg." I knew what it was, but to be sure of the nest I went to the place. The nest was surely of a *Shalik* and the two remaining eggs belonged to the rightful owners. They were hard set and, indeed, the chicks were then busy pecking at their prison shells from inside. I left them in the earthen jar that formed the nest and brought home the parasitic *Koel's* egg. It was newly laid as its thin shell and the liquid inside plainly told me. I thought I had made a discovery. Here was a new dupe of the

[1] Mynah.

Koel, and what an achievement it was for an amateur! But I did not know at the time that a few years back an Englishman had not only found a *Koel's* egg in a *Mynah's* nest but wrote a note on it in the *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society*. Fame is assuredly not easy to achieve!

But if my feathered friends brought me no fame that summer they certainly gave me many a pleasant morn and eve and their pleasant memory I shall ever cherish. Even to-day when I feel worried, I turn confidently to the feathered folk, and they never fail to bring me that joy and cheer which human company seldom gives.

SURENDRA NATH SEN

VENGEANCE IS MINE

CHAPTER V

RANUBHA

A short while after the children had left, Raghubhai started off for the palace. He walked in deep thought all the way there, busy with all sorts of calculations. He reached the palace counting the number of steps that yet remained to reach the Divanship. But Revashankar, the Divan, had established such hold upon the State that it seemed impossible that any one else could hope for that post whilst he was living. There was no room for weakness or partiality in his management, so that Raghubhai could get neither opportunity nor foothold. All went on perfectly smoothly. The only weakness of Revashankar seemed to be his passion for amassing money and for spending it as little as possible. As in a Marwari firm, every item contributed its share towards the general economy. His Highness also needed a Divan who would give him more money for his pleasures—after that the State might go to the devil himself.

There came a break in the thought. Somebody coming down the marble staircase ran against Raghubhai.

"Who the devil is that? Oh, Raghubhai! I beg your pardon, sir. I am just going to tell Champa that His Highness might be expected to-day at eight-thirty."

"Go, my dear sir, go," said Raghubhai smiling sweetly. A new idea struck him. Champa had come quite a month ago, but there had been no signs as yet of her going away. Possibly she might become a permanent factor in the hitherto fickle mind of His Highness. If such contingency arose, was she not worth being won over?

Up the staircase he went into the great hall at the side. This was the waiting room for those who desired audience with His Highness, where they learnt to possess their souls in

patience. His Highness as a rule woke up from his slumbers at about five in the afternoon, and about an hour later, transacted any state business there might be. Those who wanted to salute royalty, used to assemble in the hall and from thence the Divan Saheb called these eager souls, turn by turn, into the inner sanctum.

Ragubhai walked into this room and glanced round. Eight or ten gentlemen, yearning for but one glance from the royal eye, were talking together in a group. On one side, in the outer gallery, Raghubhai's sharp eye detected the gleam of an ochre robe;—he at once recognised the *Sannyasi*. Was it the same person? Had he not come begging at his own door only two hours ago? The *Sannyasi's* face made the Kotwal desire to know more about him, and so attracted him outside to where he was standing. Recognising the salutations of flatterers and bowing to his superiors, Raghubhai went out on the gallery. The *Sannyasi* was saying something to Ranasingh: his frank musical laughter fell on Raghubhai's ears.

"Well, Ranubha, deep in conversation?" broke in Raghubhai sweetly.

Ranasingh—Ranubha—was a kinsman of His Highness. He also was a remarkable personage in that state. The heart of the straight, plain, frank Ranubha opened only to one key—service. With the fidelity of a dog he had faithfully served His Highness from childhood upwards. He was a man of but few words; and he never liked to interfere with other people's affairs. But he was well educated; he had also visited Europe twice or thrice with His Highness. He was a thoughtful man and a keen student. But the thoughts of his brain remained where they had been born. He could detect the shortcomings of others but never cared—indeed, never dared—to point them out.

"Yes, Kotwal Saheb; come along."

"Hallo, Swami Maharaj!" Raghubhai changed his note and addressed him as an old friend. When a person came to

beg at his door he had to be spurned like a dog; but when he stood in the royal palace itself with the air of the master and when Ranubha addressed him with such deep deference, a claim to an earlier acquaintance with such a man must, of course, be established. Could one get on otherwise at the court of petty royalty? Raghubhai's quick eyes glanced at the Swamiji; the humility he had before noticed at his own door had visibly grown less; there was more of self-assertion; the lips were curled with some scorn. The Swami accepted his salutation with a look such as the Lord of the World might vouchsafe to a low-born creature; and turning again to Ranubha, continued his interrupted talk. The Swami was at that time talking in Gujarati with a slightly foreign accent, which, indeed, added greater sweetness to his words. There was a strange gravity and a wonderous inspiration in his speech.

"You see, Ranubha, that is wrong: mere selfishness and naught else. If you gather wealth and do not use it, you are a miser. Of what use is your honesty or your knowledge? If you do not use them in the service of your land you are committing a crime. I have understood the ideal of your life, such a petty ideal might do for men of low minds, but it is not worthy of Ranubha. What is the duty of one in your position? To forget this were a great sin. Some Rajputs may like, and may lead, the life of ignorant, sensual, intoxicated beasts;—they are at liberty to do what they like, but *your* life must be worthy of your *Kshatriya* birth. Your position might well be insignificant enough, but in the service of your land, in the service of humanity, lies your true greatness. A *Kshatriya* is one who rescues people from evil[1]; if you cannot literally live up to your *Kshatriya* ideal better give up calling yourself one." The Swamiji smiled; Ranubha hung down his head. Raghubhai stood quite

[1] क्षतात् त्रायते इति क्षत्रियः

dumb before this flow of eloquence. He was still deep in calculation.

The Swami gently patted Ranubha on the back and said:

"Ranubha, there is still time. Take advantage of the first opportunity. When are you coming to Varat?" He smiled quietly.

"I will come when I can. For the present His Highness does not let me go."

"This is your Kotwal, isn't it?" said the Swami turning to Raghubhai standing there with a hang-dog look.

"Yes, sir."

Raghubhai felt the keen gaze of the Swami as piercing as the searchlight of a dreadnought, he felt that the Swami must fathom every unsuspected depth in his own mind. Raghubhai had all along regarded himself secure from anybody's piercing gaze, but to-day he felt this cloak of security slipping from him. For the first time in his life he stood still with his eyes cast down.

"Kotwal Saheb, how are you progressing in your task of protecting the public." If anybody else had addressed Raghubhai in this patronising fashion he would have marked him down in his black book. To-day, however, not even the swelling hatred he felt for the Swami could burst out. He was subdued—subdued for the first time in his life—by the Swami's power, the power of a man. He searched his mind for a crushing reply but no reply could he find.

"What progress could there be? All goes on as usual."

"If you cannot progress in a task, drop it. Resign your post. Seek out something else—something more congenial, in which you can put your whole heart," said the Swami with a quiet smile. Raghubhai still stood dumb. To-day even the honied tongue refused to move.

Raghubhai began to scorn himself. Why this childish awe to-day? Where had his power over men gone?

"Never mind, try again from where you slipped, Kotwal. You are sure to win," said the Swami. Casting upon him a glance which to Raghubhai was inscrutable, he turned away and, following a page who had come to call him, went into the private room of His Highness.

"Who is this, Ranubha ?"

"Don't you know him—the Swamiji of Varat Math ?"

"What is his name ?"

"Anantanand. He is very wise."

"Yes, it seems so." Raghubhai, so confused as long as he was in the presence of Anantanand, now felt the poison of hatred creeping all over his heart. In one moment he had seen that the Swami was a really great man—a Mahatma, that he himself was as a child before him, that he could conceal nothing from those wonderful piercing eyes. When to self-esteem is added a cowardly and treacherous heart, the mixture becomes indeed terrible; and if the self-esteem of such a person is wounded, the injury is bound to fester and quickly poisons the whole system. Raghubhai went on making his own plans and naturally weighed Anantanand in his own scales.

"Ranubha, why has he come here ?"

"For this reason : the Varat Math up till now used to get a grant of Rs. 3,000 a year, but the Divan Saheb has now reduced it to 1,500, so he has been sent over by the Guru of the Math, Karunanand Saraswati."

"So he is not the Guru ? How great must be the Guru of this person ?"

"Oh no. He has been there only about five years. Before that Karunanandji was going on in his usual happy-go-lucky fashion. There is not much stuff in him. But some years ago Karunanandji's Guru came to Varat and died there; he had brought Anantanandji with him that time. Karunanandji too was getting old and as he could find none else worthier to occupy the high

office of the Guru after him, he kept Anantanandji near himself."

"I see."

Just then a page came out and approached these two who were talking.

"Raghubhai, you will wait here? Please don't go away."

"Why?"

"The Divan Saheb has whispered to me to find out if you were outside."

"Why, what is the matter?"

"Oh, there is just a bit of a row between His Highness and that Swami."

Ranubha being so intimate with His Highness there was nothing to hide from him. He turned a little pale on hearing this and looked anxiously at the inner room. A few moments later he saw a shadow moving in a distant apartment and quietly slipped away.

Raghubhai and the page exchanged glances and understood.

Ranubha went past the staircase into another hall, looking about carefully. This hall might be called the porch of His Highness's pleasure chamber. All sorts of luxuries calculated to bring satisfaction to every whim of an epicurian lay scattered there in profusion. Without even looking at these, Ranubha passed through this hall into an outer gallery. His face had grown serious. He was trying to control himself, but without success. A dignified young woman lay reclined, or rather had flung herself, upon a *gadi*.[1] She had put on her rich dress with the utmost carelessness; and she lay there listless and uncaring, with eyes shut. The chief characteristic of Champa was her carelessness; it constituted, in fact, her chief attraction. His Highness had wandered over the world in search of varied experiences, but only here had

[1] A raised dias richly furnished with carpets and pillows so that one could recline thereon with elegance and ease.

he found such a woman, and he had surrendered to her at sight.

Ranubha stood still looking at her for a while, then he called out: "Champa."

Champa opened her eyes languidly, as if it were an exhausting task.

"Well, what is it?"

"Why are you flung down like this?"

"What else could I do? I am sick of Your Highness."

"Champa, do not deceive me. Why do you thus make me dance attendance upon you?"

"Do I make you or do you choose to do so yourself?" said Champa; and as if tired of speaking turned away so as to rest on the other side; "I never asked you to speak to me? What is His Highness doing?"

At the mention of His Highness, Ranubha got a little annoyed; "He is busy."

"Ranubha, who was the Bawa that passed this way a little while ago?"

"He is the Swami of Varat."

"Oh!"

"Will you please just look up at me?"

"No, my eyes are tired, and I have got to sing to-night before His Highness. Well, Ranubha, do one thing for me. Please go over to my lodging and fetch my servant here."

Ranubha understood that it was merely a polite excuse to send him away. "Certainly," he said, and sighed with a heavy heart, as with slow steps he came out.

CHAPTER VI

A Kshatriya Tree and its Blossoms

The history of the Lords of Ratnagadh was a remarkable one. It was closely bound up with that of Gujarat from the very beginning. Ratnasingh Solanki was born in A.D. 922 in an ordinary noble family and brought no other heritage into the world except his huge frame of six feet six and his noble blood. But his fortune and his courage were both high. Mulraj[1]—that inestimable jewel of Gujarat history—had taken birth in his family. From his boyhood Ratna Solanki had linked his fortune with that of his illustrious cousin, and he also trod the same path to fame. Then Mulraj went to war with Lakha.[2] On the field of battle, a sturdy warrior aimed a terrific blow at Mulraj, which might have ended his life, had not Ratna by great good fortune been by. To save his cousin and king he held out his left arm and allowed it to be shorn off. The grateful Lord of Gujarat presented Ratna Solanki with a small *jaghir* and permitted him to found Ratnagadh.

As long as Mulraj was living, Ratnagadh remained tributary to him. From the day of Mulraj's death, Ratna Solanki declared his independence, and became Raja Ratnasingh. Twenty years later, Raja Ratnasingh renounced the stormy world and became an ascetic; but he left a long line of invincible warriors to succeed him. These proud warriors of the Solanki clan accepted the nominal overlordship of Anhilwad[3] only so long as their kinsmen were ruling there. Siddharaj[4] alone succeeded for a short time in

[1] Mulraj Solanki (Chalukya) who reigned A.D. 942—997, was the founder of the most illustrious of the Hindu houses that ruled Gujarat.

[2] Lakha was the Rao of Kachh, who was defeated and slain by Mulraj.

[3] The ancient capital of Gujarat, which was founded in A.D. 746 and remained the first city of Gujarat till the Moslem conquest in A.D. 1296.

[4] Siddharaj (reigned A.D. 1094—1143) was the greatest of the Solanki family.

exacting the tribute and re-establishing his dominion over them. With the Vaghelas[1] they were at sworn enmity. From that time onwards, until the Maratha sun had set and the power of the English had begun to rise—that is to say, for quite nine centuries—the warrior Lords of Ratnagadh remained mostly independent. They were almost always having a share in the commotions between greater powers, and they alternately played a winning or a losing game. On the battlefield, by falling from horse-back, or as exiles in wild fortresses, the descendants of Ratnasingh ended their lives and showed their hereditary valour. All these years their family tree bore blossoms in the shape of fierce, wild, autocratic rulers; not one was a coward. At last, at the beginning of the British rule, Tejasingh Solanki renounced the hereditary methods of war and thought it more expedient to make peace, for he had taken measure of the strength of the rising power. He succeeded in advancing his state more by the force of his head than by that of his arms. His grandson Jasvantsingh was the latest blossom of this vigorous tree at the time of our story.

Jasubha (when wars and valour were no longer needed, the addition of "Singh"[2] had no meaning) was also a specially noteworthy character. From his boyhood he had made pleasure the one end of his life. In wisdom, tact and other manly qualities he was in no way unworthy of his race or his rank; but whether owing to the special type of teaching now given to Indian Princes, or to the selfish love of pleasure, he had imbibed during his unrestricted tour in the materialistic West, the greatest dread he had in life was to be forced to exert himself. Some people think that some kinds of activity bring joy and happiness, but to Jasubha the highest

[1] The last Hindu royal race of Gujarat. It was the Vaghela, Karan II, who lost the kingdom of Gujarat to Alauddin Khiliji in A.D. 1296.

[2] Lion. The *bha*, now added in its place, means, literally, "brother." It is usually added to the names of princes and greater officials in Kathiawar.

happiness was only that which was obtained without any exertion. Running about on a cricket field, or exerting himself by walking out, was for him but a variety of pain. He thought it was his royal prerogative that none should seek to interrupt the pleasures that came to him without effort and therefore as long as Revashankar carried on the affairs of the state without bothering him, His Highness could have no objection whatever to his methods.

When, however, there was some business which had perforce to be attended to, there was a special room set apart for transacting it and evening was the time appointed for it. Usually His Highness came to this office-room twice a week; on the remaining days it served as the office of Revashankar. Whenever His Highness graced this room with his royal presence, he would exert himself so far as to stretch himself at full length upon an English arm-chair smoking a cigar; he would then even read one of the lighter English magazines or the latest and most worthless of novels. As a limits he sometime, scrawled his signature below some letter to the British Resident at his court. For this highly important task a magnificent table and a revolving-chair had been set apart for His Highness, but usually this revolving-chair served rather to support the royal cigar-case than the royal person.

To-day His Highness was lying at ease with eyes half-shut enveloped in a cloud of smoke from a cigar of considerable size.

"Revashankar, why should I trouble myself about this? Why else do I pay you a fat salary?"

"But, Your Highness, if this Bawa will not listen to reason, what can I do? He says he will not go away unless he sees you personally," pleaded Revashankar, his sharp eyes looking over the spectacles perched upon the lip of his nose, "as if fifteen hundred Rupees are not enough for half-a-dozen lazy Bawas?"

"But why should I take all this trouble to-day? Champa must be waiting for me over there."

"Your Highness, he is standing outside and he told me that unless Your Highness received him, he would come to the public *darbar* and speak there openly."

"Oh, bother! Well call him in," said His Highness with a deep sigh of resignation. If he had strength enough for the effort, he might have cursed aloud; instead, he only blew a great smoke-ring from his mouth.

A moment later the door opened, and Anantanandji came in. There was a marked change observable in the Swami, whom we had seen outside speaking affectionate words of advice with a smile upon his face. There was greater firmness and strength visible in his face; his staff was held with a stronger grip in his hand. His eyes showed the depth of his devotion to the task he had undertaken. He looked like one of the great Cardinal ministers of European history or like the great Chanakya bent upon overthrowing an empire. The possession of such opposite qualities by one individual,—the perfect unfolding of each of the different qualities of human nature, manifested to suit each varying occasion as it arises—this constitutes the highest ideal of character-building among the Aryan nations. With us perfection means being as like Nature herself, as far as possible;—Nature, which blossoms forth in spring, smiling and bringing smiles to our hearts; which changes in a moment and shakes the world with her terrific thunders, weeping and causing us to weep; while at the very centre there is peace eternal and undisturbed. To become such in our own selves is the Aryan ideal of human perfection.

Anantanand went straight up to His Highness and stood with his back to Revashankar.

"Your Highness, our blessings!"

Jasubha looked at him through his languid eyes, but just for one moment paid him some attention. The Prince had the power of inwardly understanding everything and he at once grasped to the full, Anantanand's power. After that great

mental exertion he gently waved the hand, which still held the cigar, in acknowledgment of the blessing.

For a couple of minutes no one spoke. The bright eyes of the Swami were looking at Jasubha with tenderness mingled with some pity. Revashankar was, however, completely eclipsed behind the Swami. At last Jasubha felt uncomfortable under that gaze sharp as a sword.

"Well, Maharaj?"

"The Lord hath blessed us with His favours."

Slowly Jasubha stretched forth his hand to put away the cigar, and, sitting up, inquired: "Maharaj, you desired to see me?"

"It was the Guruji's command that I should see our Prince."

"Well, you have seen him now! What is your business? Speak."

"Pardon me, sir. I have only seen *you*, not our Prince."

"That's rather funny," murmured Jasubha in English. For the first time in his life he had found one who had dared to point out this difference. The clever Prince thought the Swami a bit strange, but he also admired him a little in his own mind. "Then who am I?" asked he with a smile.

"At present you are only Jasubha. I am waiting until your true nature, worthy of a Ruler of men, bursts forth. It is useless for me to speak to you about my business in your present condition."

There was the affectionate sternness of a father speaking to his child in the eyes of Anantanand. Some latent seeds of shame in Jasubha's heart began to sprout under that tender gaze, but it was impossible for his delicate mind to continue for any length of time the exertion of such deep thinking.

"Swami, thanks for your good advice. Now kindly state your business to my Divan here and he will do the needful after consulting me."

"Pardon me. But I will ask what I want from the master alone. You have the privilege of ruling over men, and we, who have renounced the worries of earthly life and are trying to realise the Absolute, we, *Sannyasis*, have got the privilege of ruling over their souls. And a Ruler may not make a request but to another Ruler."

Revashankar sitting eclipsed behind the Swami was annoyed. He felt insulted that he should thus be lightly set aside. It was also possible that His Highness might accede to the request, in which case fifteen hundred Rupees more would be thrown away. He, therefore, got up and came up with his spectacles in one hand and some papers in the other. Jasubha could see that the Swami had already taught Revashankar some lessons in humility and he felt somewhat amused. For the first time in many years, he began to talk about state affairs without being stretched at full length upon his arm-chair.

"Look here, Swamiji, I have not much time. If you have anything to tell me, please cut it short."

"Your Highness, I will myself tell you," interposed Revashankar a bit sharply, "their annual grant was Rs. 3,000 and you ordered it to be reduced to Rs. 1,500. Now, in order to have this order rescinded, these Bawas—" and he indicated Anantanand with a sweep of his hand.

But the flashing eyes of Anantanand quite vanquished Revashankar and brought his explanation to an abrupt full stop. "Noble Prince! I need no hireling tongue to put forward my request. Why should the grant continued during a thousand years be stopped now? Is it right that money granted for religious charities should be stopped to satisfy miserly gold-grabbers? Is this the sum and substance of all your political economy? If you wish to be economical you are welcome, but there are many other fields."

Jasubha felt uncomfortable. The matter seemed to have exceeded the bounds of his patience. The Bawa seemed

to be quite clever and it was not likely that he would give in even the least bit. He felt half inclined to grant the request. Revashankar, however, interfered, "Your Highness, you are our master; but I must say that these people are wasting the money in a scandalous fashion. With great difficulty we find the money for their yearly grant and they set up their fine gardens and live at ease there. If Your Highness wishes, here are the papers," and he held out a big file.

The Swami smiled a pitying smite: "What we do or what we don't shall be judged by His Highness himself when he visits us. There is no question about the use of the money at present."

"Then there is no money, too, at present," said Revashankar taking off the spectacles he had put on to read the papers.

In the meanwhile Jasubha had lighted his cigar and had got up. He had come to an end of his patience. "All right, Swamiji, come again next year. Be satisfied with only this much for the present." And saluting with the hand that held the cigar Jasubha went into the adjoining chamber.

The Swami turned to Revashankar; "Well, Divan, shall my mission then fail?"

"Why do you say 'shall'? It *has* failed."

"Is there no hope?" Anantanand asked looking mysteriously at him.

"Yes, yes. After my death you have might some hope. Come again when there is a new Divan."

"Very well, I shall see." Anantanand turned away and with measured steps he left the palace through the great hall. Immediately Revashankar called in Raghubhai.

"Raghubhai, do you recognise that Swami? Keep your eye upon him and keep me informed about his movements."

K. M. MUNSHI

THE LEGEND OF YIMA AND THE "CRADLE-LAND" OF THE ARYAṆS

In the Avesta we find enshrined a number of old time Sagas which preserve for us some of the oldest beliefs and customs of the Aryan races. Among such legends, and possibly the oldest among them, is the legend of the great King Yima. He is always called in the Avesta *Yiṁa-Khshaēta* (Yima the King)—which has become the modern Persian name *Jamshīd* and he always has the epithet "the Magnificent" added on to his name. He is one of the most glorious of the ancient Persian (one might almost say Aryan) monarchs and in *Yasna* IX he is called "the most resplendent of (all) created beings, (who shone forth) among mortals like unto the sun in appearance."[1] Yima was the son of Vīvanghvat and thus he corresponds exactly to Yama Vaivasvata of the Veda. His rule upon earth was the golden age of the Aryan land, for it is said that he "made during his rule (both) animals and human beings undying; and waters and vegetables (were) ever fresh; (there was also) inexhaustible food for feeding (his subjects)." And, the text of *Yasna* IX continues, "during the rule of the illustrious Yima there was neither (excessive) cold nor (excessive) heat, neither was there old-age nor death, nor (was there) envy created of the *Daēva*[2]; father and son moved about each (seeming only) fifteen (years old) in appearance as long as Yima the Magnificent, the son of Vīvanghvat reigned."

Such was the happy time enjoyed by the people of *Airyana Vaējа*[3] (the cradle-land of the Āryas) when Yima

[1] The translations given here are (unless stated otherwise) by the author of this article and will shortly be published in book form by the University.

[2] The Evil One, Sans. *deva*.

[3] Lit. "seed," Sans. *bīja*.

the King ruled over that ancient land. The second chapter of the *Vendīdād* gives a full account of the reign of King Yima the Magnificent. It is a splendid chapter and it is the object of this article to investigate it in some detail. Yima was the first mortal to whom "the Creator of the material world," Ahura Mazda, taught the great *Mazadayasna* (Mazda-worshipping) faith. And Ahura Mazda asked him to be the preacher and prophet of that faith. But Yima in his modesty declined that great office saying, "I was not born. I was not taught to be the preacher and the bearer of Thy Religion." When Yima had thus declared himself unequal to the task of the *Āthravan* (*i.e.* the *Brāhmana*), Ahura Mazda asked him to be the *Rathaēshtār* (*i.e.* the *Kshatriya*) of His land, to make the people to increase and to make the world to prosper: "to nourish, to rule, and to watch over His world."[1] Yima knowing that this was well within his powers consented and loyally watched over the growth of this world. He ruled wisely and in great splendour during "three hundred winters," and his kingdom became "replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was room no more for flocks, herds and men."[1] Thereupon, with the advice of Ahura Mazda, "Yima stepped forward into the light, southwards, along the path of the sun," and he thus found more room for his people. He had to do the same three hundred years later, and yet a third time after "nine hundred winters had passed away" under his sway.

When Yima approached the end of "the holy first millennium of years" a meeting was called by the Creator to which came the celestial Angels and also Yima with all his holy sages and ministers on the banks of the holy river Dāityā, in Airyana Vaēja of high renown." At that meeting Ahura gives warning to Yima of the approaching destruction of the

[1] Darmesteter's translation.

world: "Yima, thou fair son of Vivanghvat! upon the wicked material world shall descend the winters, (and) through these (shall come) fierce deadly cold. Upon the wicked material world shall come winters and through these first of all shall fall deep snow (extending) from the highest heights of the mountains to the depths of the waters" (22).[1] Ahura Mazda also prophesied the destruction of all animals, those that live in wildernesses and on mountain tops, as well as those that lived domesticated "in the river-valleys (even though protected) in well-built stalls" (23). Ahura draws a striking contrast between the world as it is then and as it will appear after the terrible cold has set in: "Before (that) cold there is (at present) production of food in this land, (for) after the melting of the (winter's) snow (there is) water in plenty for irrigating it. But (later on), O Yima (the land) here shall appear uninhabitable for (all) corporeal life; (even) here where the footprints of lowing cattle are (at present) to be seen"(24).

In order to escape this danger the Creator advises Yima to "construct one *vara* or enclosure one *charetu*[2] long in each of its four sides" and he is asked to carry therein "the offspring of (small) animals, and of (large) cattle, and of men, and of dogs, and of birds, and the seed of the fires brilliant (and) flaming"(24). Some details are given as to the construction of this *vara* (or enclosure). It had special portions set apart for human beings to dwell in and others to be used "as a stall for cattle." There was to be a water-course one *hāthra*[3] in length in this enclosure and near this water-course fields were to be laid out, so as to assure a constant supply of "golden-hued" grain. Round these fields were to be dwelling places, each to have "a pillared portico and an inner courtyard, and an encircling wall"(28). The whole was to be

[1] The numbers refer to the "verses" in Chap. II of the *Vendīdād*.

[2] A measure of length equal to about two miles.

[3] Half a *charetu*.

divided into three parts which were to be arranged apparently in tiers one above the other. There were to be nine passages in the first one, six in the middle one and three in the lowest one. These three tiers were to be peopled respectively with one thousand, six hundred and three hundred, "offspring of men and of women." The entrances had to be sealed with the golden signet-ring of Yima.[1] The whole was to be underground[2] as affording the best protection from the cold and Yima is asked to crush up the earth with his heels and to knead it with his two hands "just indeed as potters here knead the wet clay"(31). Special mention is made, as might naturally be expected, for the lighting and ventilating arrangements within. The whole *vara* was equipped with doors and with windows "self-luminous on the inner side." The lighting arrangement is mentioned specially again in a later verse of this chapter: "These lights (were) both natural and artificial: once only (in the year) the stars and the moon and the sun are seen to set and to rise; and they (the people of the *vara*) think what (is) a year (to be) a day"(40).

There is one important point that would strike the reader at once—the essential similarity between this legend and the Biblical legend of the Deluge. The Deluge legend is very wide-spread, in fact there is hardly any nation or country in the world which has not got its own version of this story. The common points, which form the essential factors of the Deluge story, are (1) the growing wickedness of the world and its consequent impending destruction, (2) the warning given by the Deity to the leader of the good among mankind to save himself and his followers from the approaching catastrophe, (3) the preparations made to save the good men and women as also the typical plants and animals, and (4) the catastrophe

[1] This was given to him by Ahura Mazda as a sign of his sovereignty.

[2] This is not clearly mentioned in the Avesta, but there is clear mention in Pahlavi *Bundahishn* (XXII.5) that the *vara* "is below the earth" (*S.B.E.*, Vol. V, p. 140).

itself and (5) the rescue of the select few of the creation. The universal presence in these legends of these five points seems to indicate that there did occur, within human memory, a terrible catastrophe which left a profound impression on the minds of human beings. I do not think that a local catastrophe like the devastating floods of the Euphrates and Tigris in Mesopotamia [1] could have given rise to a *universal* legend of this type. The catastrophe was more probably much wider spread and affected a far larger number of people than a few tribes. In his *Outlines of History* H. G. Wells has mentioned (XI, § 6) the catastrophic flooding in a very short time of the Mediterranean basin which must have caused the loss of millions of lives. A catastrophe on that scale may well be remembered by the whole human race and echoes of it would ring down all the succeeding millenia.

Now as regards the event itself, most of the legends speak of destruction by *water*. But the Avesta legend is practically the only one that speaks of *snow and ice* [2] as the cause of destruction. This constitutes a very important point of difference which has not received the attention it deserves at the hands of any student of Avesta. The narrative of Yima is very clear and exact in its wording that the destruction of the "cradle-land of the Aryas" was caused by snow and ice extending "from the heights of the mountains to the depths of the waters." In short, all indications point to a land in the far north destroyed by glaciation. That the North Polar regions were at one period—and that too geologically not far distant—inhabitable by human beings may be taken as fairly established.[3] The mention of the sun rising and setting but once a year, which made the people of Yima's *vara* "think

[1] This is the argument of Seuss in his book *Da Antlitz der Erde* (Vol. I) where he devotes several pages to this legend.

[2] The Scandinavian version mentions the Deluge to have been caused by *melting* snow and ice.

[3] I would refer the reader to B. G. Tilak's fascinating *Arctic Home in the Vedas* for details of the arguments both astronomical and geological.

what (is) a year (to be) a day" (Ven. II. 40), should be regarded as a positively conclusive argument. This particular mention of one sunrise in the year has not been noticed by any commentator, rather they have ignored this point, for it would otherwise have upset all their preconceived notions.

But though these two plain statements about the ice and snow and about one sunrise in the year, though conclusive, are not the only evidences in the Avesta of the Polar home of the Aryas. There are other passages equally clear which corroborate this view and which taken all together would be enough to demonstrate the truth completely.

I. In Ven. I. 3-4, the overwhelming of this ancient land is again mentioned quite clearly:

"The first of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the *Airyana Vaējō* by the *Vanguhi Dāitya*.

"Thereupon came Angrō Mainyush,[1] who is all death, and he counter-created the serpent in the river and winter, a work of the *Daēvas* (3).

"There are ten winter months there, two summer months and those are cold for the waters, cold for the earth, cold for the trees, winter falls there, the worst of all plagues"(4).[2]

The ancient Pahlavi commentator on this passage naïvely remarks "it is known (in the ordinary course of nature) there are seven months of summer and five of winter." Of course he was thinking of the land in which he was living, which was called *Irānvēz* after that ancient home. The mention of the serpent—the *Vṛtra* of the Vedas, who used to lock up the waters in his icy-grip—is also significant.

II. In another chapter of the *Vendīdād* (III. 10 ff.) there are given directions for preserving the dead body during the winter season. Special rooms are to be built for taking in

[1] The Evil One.

[2] Darmesteter's translation.

these dead bodies and the lifeless bodies are to "lie there, for two nights, or for three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the hidden floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth." The last four conditions could certainly not apply to a land in temperate regions. Nor would a winter blizzard usually last for a month or more at a time. The essential element of the Zoroastrian disposal of the dead is exposure to the sun and this was not possible in the long night of an arctic winter. Keeping the dead body for a month is not very reasonable, even in the Tigris valley where the winter storms are notoriously severe.

III. In yet another passage of the Avesta, *Yasht* X. 104, three places in *Airyana Vaējō* are mentioned which are respectively in the East, West and South. To balance these the fourth region is mentioned as being "the middle point of this Earth."[1] This sort of geographical arrangement where the North might be called "the middle-point of this earth" also tends to support the view that the region was circumpolar.[2] The conception of Mount Meru in Hindu writings as the centre of the earth is exactly similar.

IV. In the legend of Yima itself we are told how Yima had to extend his domains three times and each time he "stepped forward into the light, *southwards*, along the path of the sun." This also seems to indicate an extremely northern land, where practically all directions are south.

V. It may also be noted that all through the Chapter II of the *Vendīdād* time is measured by *winters* not by *summers* as we do now.

VI. Nairyosang Dhaval, the learned Parsi priest, who translated a large portion of the existing Avesta into Sanskrit

[1] Darmesteter translates, "the boundary of the earth." But the original word is *vī-maidhem* (=Sans. *madhya*) and Bartholomae in his Dictionary says, "the middle-point of this earth."

[2] This passage has been discussed by me in my forthcoming *Selections from Avesta and Old Persian*.

about A.D. 1200, usually merely *transcribes* into Devanāgarī characters the proper names occurring in the Avesta. He transcribes even the word *daēva* into the Sanskrit *deva* in spite of the fact that the meaning is the exact opposite of the Sanskrit word and might have caused confusion to his Hindu readers. But the name of *Hara-barezaiti*, the mountain at "the middle-point of the earth," he *translates* as *Meru*. Nairyosang being conversant with both the Zoroastrian as well as the Hindu beliefs and also having inherited a practically unbroken tradition through a long line of teachers, has evidently some weightier reason than a mere whim for this procedure. That *Meru* might well have been the North Pole has been ably maintained by B. G. Tilak in his *Arctic Home in the Vedas*.[1] Therefore it becomes fairly clear why Nairyosang chose to *translate* this proper name and did not merely transcribe it as was his ordinary habit.

With all this evidence before us it seems to me difficult *to avoid* the only reasonable conclusion which would fit all these particulars. But so difficult are preconceived notions to eradicate that scholars have hitherto merely ignored these points or have actually mistranslated or otherwise twisted some other sense out of such passages. This one preconceived notion is that *Airyana-Vaēja* is identical with the historical *Irānvēz* (modern *Irān*). One may as well argue that because London, Richmond, York or Windsor are found in New Zealand, the ancient home-land of the English was in the South Pacific! Could not the Aryans when they migrated south to escape the rigours of the glacial period, have carried the beloved names of their ancient homelands with them and could they not have given those old names, so full of tender associations of "the golden age," to the countries, mountains and rivers in their new southern home?

There is another point of interest in the Avestic legend of Yima which has a special "moral" for us to-day. In all

[1] Pp. 56, 67, etc.

the Deluge stories we are told that a certain number of good men and women were to be preserved from the universal destruction, together with animals (and in some legends plants also). The obvious reason for this was the repeopling of the earth after the wicked had been destroyed. In almost all the legends we are merely told that the people thus saved were "good" people, but the *Vendīdād* gives us a considerable amount of detail regarding the principles which guided the choice. In fact we might say that some of the verses of this Chapter constitute what might be termed the oldest reference to eugenics we possess among the Aryans. The right type of human beings, as well as plants and animals had to be chosen, so that even after the destruction of the wicked old world the race could begin anew and perhaps at a higher level. The progress of humanity as a whole and the keeping up of the best traditions of the race are very clearly kept in view in picking out those who were to be protected in this *vara*—for they were indeed "the chosen people" on whom was to fall in future generations the burden of repeopling the earth and carrying forward the evolution of humanity. And not merely human beings but animals and even plants were to be chosen with care. The instructions given to Yima by Ahura Mazda is quite explicit:

"Therein shalt thou carry the offspring of all men and of (all) women, who are upon this earth the greatest, and the best and the finest. Therein shalt thou carry the offspring of all kinds of creatures which are upon this earth the greatest and the best and the finest" (27).

"Therein shalt thou carry the seed of all trees which are upon this earth the tallest and the sweetest-scented. Therein shalt thou carry the seed of all fruits which are upon this earth the best of savour and the sweetest-scented. (All) these (animals) shalt thou take in pairs, (and shalt preserve) each (pair) safe from harm through that (time), (during) which these people shall be (dwelling) within the *vara*" (28).

These instructions with regard to plants and animals are clear enough, but those which are to guide the choice of the human beings and the defects to be avoided in order to make those saved "a chosen people" are given in even clearer and fuller details. These are mentioned in the next verse (29). The words which describe the shortcomings which should be eliminated from "the chosen people" have not been translated by all scholars in the same way. Some of these words are not found in any other passage and even when used elsewhere, they are found in exactly a similar context: in fact most of these words are repeated in *Vendīdād* XIX. 43 and there they represent the minor devils, the lieutenants of the Evil One. It becomes therefore, very hard to determine their exact original signification. They can be taken in two ways, one as representing physical, and the other as representing mental or moral defects. Most European scholars take this verse in the former way, while the Parsi scholar, the late K. E. Kanga, translates it in the latter manner. From the former standpoint we may translate:

"(There should be) here (in the *vara*) neither the bulging-chested, nor the humpbacked, nor the impotent, nor the lunatic, nor the pitted-faced,[1] nor the emaciated, nor the undersized, nor the crooked-limbed, nor (any) possessing deformed teeth, nor the leprous who (have the disease) spread over the body, nor indeed (one showing) any of the other outward signs which are the marks of Angrō Mainyush put upon mankind."

Kanga translates it thus:[2]

"There should be (in the *vara*) no pride, nor laziness,[3] nor unholiness, nor tyranny, nor misery, nor deception, nor meanness, nor dishonesty, nor evil-speaking, nor leprosy which spreads over the body, nor indeed any of the characteristics,

[1] This probably refers to marks of small-pox.

[2] From his Gujarati version, 1884.

[3] "Back-biting" is also suggested as an alternative.

which are the characteristics of Angro Mainyush, and lead to death."

Whichever version we may accept, this much is certain that Yima had to choose (as Darmesteter has put it) only "the best specimens of mankind, to be the origin of the more perfect races of the latter days...in order that the new mankind may be exempt from all moral and physical deformities." The list of evils to be excluded from the *vara* is indeed a fairly detailed one and is evidently based on a correct appreciation of the object to be achieved, *viz.*, the re-establishment of the virile race of the Aryans after the wicked had been weeded out.

Life in the *vara*, with such perfect specimens of humanity thus carefully chosen, must indeed have been happy. The legend does not contemplate only a few weeks' stay in the place but of many generations.[1] The continuance of this virile stock is also assured during many generations, because "(every) fortieth winter unto (each) pair of human beings were born two human twins, a girl and a boy; thus (also was it) with those (various) kinds of animals; and (all) these human beings lived a happy life in that *vara* which Yima had constructed" (40).

IRACH J. S. TARAPOREWALA

[1] See Pahlavi *Bahman Yasht*, III. 55 (*S. B. E.*, Vol. V, p. 234, footnote 4).

"TRUE" PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMY

(*A Satire*)

While according to the official reports there is only mild scarcity, unattended by starvation in Khulna, there is acute and widespread distress with starvation in the Imperial services of the Government of India. But while the Khulna people have, strangely enough, succeeded in enlisting stupendous public sympathy and support by simulating starvation and feigning death and disease, the Imperial services men have, they say, failed to enlist the faintest amount of sympathy, although they are actually passing through a critical phase of their existence not far removed from utter annihilation. The Imperial services men have, therefore, every reason to be jealous of the Khulna people on whom all kinds of public expressions of sympathy have literally been showered. This is, to say the least, a monstrous instance of injustice and racial inequality which must have their roots in racial hatred for which the non-co-operation movement is responsible, and which, if not nipped in the bud, may excite disaffection between the different classes of His Majesty's subjects for which drastic and timely executive action may be called for. Another consequence, no less serious, might be that if they failed to receive public help in time they might threaten to leave India to her fate and join their brethren at home where they would be better fed, better clothed, better looked after by the state and could earn more to be able in a few years to save a decent competence on which they could live like princes when they were incapacitated for work.

The controversy now centres round the question whether the Khulna ryots or the Imperial services men are better off economically. The decision of this question rests on scientific investigations of the most complex and abstruse order; and this decision can only be given authoritatively by the Imperial

service men. They would decide the question neither hastily nor empirically, but after prolonged and mature thought and investigation. For instance, they would inquire, and very properly too, into the number of milch cows in the district, the number of fishes of different species and sizes in the local tanks, bheels, rivers, and estuaries taking into account their productive capacity, the number of edible fruits in the trees, the quantity of vegetables in the fields, the quantity of hoarded wealth in the shape of earthen, iron and brass utensils, of bell-metal, glass and silver jewellery, the amount of manual labour (such as cutting and carrying earth) which they are able and ought to undergo in the interest of maintaining physical efficiency, the number of able-bodied men, women, and children who are fit to work in tea-gardens and factories, and similar other matters of great social and economic importance. All these require time, labour and thought as well as a study of economic, statistical and sociological methods. Neither should the medical aspect of the question be entirely ignored: namely, whether the people are really starving or suffering from stomachic disorders brought on by gluttony for which medical experts advise prolonged rest to the digestive organs. The assertion of a large number of semi-civilised and unscientific men that they are suffering from starvation and need food must be taken with a great deal of caution. For, their brain-cells are not sufficiently developed to enable them to describe precisely what they feel, and to discriminate between hunger and satiety, both of which may produce similar sensations. There is also a difference of opinion among ethnologists, anthropologists, anthropo-geographists, physiologists, biologists, pathologists and psycho-physicists, about the degree of hunger produced in different men at different stages of civilisation and of mental and physical development: for instance, biologists affirm that certain animals can thrive best on air for a long time, while others of a more advanced type require nourishment more frequently than those of a less advanced type.

It is also quite possible, nay probable, that certain physical, ethnic or geographic conditions may produce in the ontogenetic organs of a certain class of human beings a sensation which is akin to, and is liable to be confounded with, hunger. There is therefore stupendous difficulty in pronouncing with any degree of scientific accuracy on both the theoretical and practical aspects of starvation; and *nolens volens*, the people must be content to accept without question the verdict given by the scientific authorities of the Imperial service, and console themselves with the reflection that it is scientifically safe, and physically beneficial to the human system, to conquer the rebellion of the stomach rather than to yield, every 12 or 24 hours, to the stimulus of craving for gross material objects, called food. Thus, it is evident, that the problem of determining the starvation stage of half-civilised people like that of India is beset with innumerable difficulties: but as the members of the Imperial service are thoroughly grounded in all branches of extant science, they are pre-eminently qualified to solve it. But, it often happens that amid the distractions caused by the human beings for whose well-being they toil and labour, the researches conducted by them in the plains are liable to serious errors which have to be corrected or modified by the super-Imperial officers residing in a cool and quiet retreat, where there exist ample facilities, in the well-equipped government record-room, for making researches in all branches of human knowledge, aloof from the distractions in which the researcher is liable to be caught up in the centre of the wails and cries of hungry men in the plains. Imperial officers working in the plains are liable to err on account of the noise created by the surrounding humanity; but all chances of error would be eliminated for the super-Imperial officers who worked in the "comparative calm of a retreat" high up at Darjeeling or Simla, or Mussourie, or Naïnital. Errors occur when super-men work among ordinary men: but errors never occur, when their brain works in a vacuum, with no

external disturbances, no thoughts of human beings, no concrete problems to tackle. The calm atmosphere of the hills is suitable for the reflection of the highest, the abstract and the absolute. What more congenial atmosphere can be therefore imagined for the solution of such abstract problems as hunger, starvation, justice, peace, etc.!

Not only must we accept the solution of this ontogenetic instinct called hunger arrived at by scientifically-minded administrators, but we must also accept their decision as to the kind and quality of food which is suitable for our system. Let me illustrate: a European Imperial service man, born with a natural genius for science, was a member of a certain committee appointed to investigate the grave problem of reckless extravagance prevalent amongst government clerks, who had organised themselves for submitting to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales a petition for increasing their salaries. The inquiry was considered to be politically necessary because, according to the confidential report of a C. I. D. officer, this reckless habit on the part of an organised body of clerks might cause serious discontent and shake the foundations of the government established by law in British India and was likely to excite disaffection and hatred towards the officers of the department entrusted with the judicious administration of its finances. It was whispered in commercial and financial circles not only in Calcutta, but also in London and New York, that the deficit of two crores in the Bengal, and the threatened deficit of 19 crores in the Government of India, budget was due solely to two causes, (1) the extravagant rates of salaries of clerks, (2) the extravagant rates of salaries of school masters. So it was very wisely proposed to cut down these two scales of salaries, or to do away, if possible, with these two classes of officers in order to avoid the imposition of fresh taxation so soon after the introduction of the Reforms. However, of this later on. To resume our main topic, the European member of the committee asked a certain clerk,

who appeared before him to give evidence, why he wanted such a tall salary as Rs. 75 a month. On his supplying the member with the details of his domestic expenses, he at once, with the shrewdness of his intellect and precision of his scientific instinct, hit upon the true cause of his extravagance and consequent misery: *viz.*, "Rs. 5 a month for milk for his baby!" This worthy gentleman was astonished to be told, after 25 years' solid experience of Indian life, that babies are fed on milk! He went on to suggest a food which, both on medical and economic grounds, was more suitable, *viz.*, beef-soup.

If beef-soup is cheaper than milk, why do foolish people, asked he, object to killing cows and want to save them in order to drink milk which is trebly and quadruply dearer? This is contrary to all sound economic laws against which it is vain for them to beat and foam. If economic laws sanction the sacrifice of ultimate good for the sake of the present, the good of society for personal good, why should they evince any scruple, under the influence of maudlin sentiment and silly phantasies, to sacrifice all other laws, *e.g.* laws of religion, laws of morality, laws of health and laws of humanity to economic laws? The clerk could not suppress a smile; and it is on record that he was reported to the head of his department for impertinence and to the secret police for watching his movements. In brief, we are bound to bow to the decision of the Imperial service men as to the quantity and quality of food we should prescribe for us and for our babies and widows. The question whether we deserve to starve owing to our social and religious customs, or to the ethnological and other characteristics which place us on a very low plane of civilisation, or whether we deserve to become extinct on impact with a higher civilisation according to the biological law of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest—this question is, I understand, being investigated in one of the Research Institutes by the scientific members of the Imperial service; and after the results of their investigations

are published, a Royal Commission will be appointed to make recommendations on this and other allied questions which may arise incidentally out of the same. In contrast with the case of half-civilised Indians who, according to zoologists, can very well thrive on leaves and grass, and even on nature's air and water, just as many animals of the lower type do, the case of the members of the Imperial service stands on a different footing. The latter belong to a continually rising type of civilisation, the criterion of which is continuously fresh wants. The man who belongs to the highest type of civilisation is, therefore, he whose wants are boundless and unsatisfiable. Admitting, as we must do, this criterion of civilisation, the wants of the Imperial service men are perpetually increasing and it is the duty of their employer, the state, to do everything in its power to satisfy them, by economies in other directions, by taxation and even by borrowing. Their present grievances are genuine, real, insistent and acute: and to redress them the following minimum requirements must be satisfied:

(1) A motor car—with a chaffeur—or a motor launch, if the head-quarters are close to a lake or a river. This is absolutely necessary if tours of inspection are to be made, and efficient supervision over the Indian staff has to be maintained. These tours of inspection are becoming increasingly necessary in order to study the behaviour of the animals, known as "Indians," and to devise, after laborious research, measures for their feeding, nurture, exercise, etc.

(2) Electric installation for fans and light, in their offices and private residences to enable them to work under 'home' conditions, and to think calmly for the welfare of Indians.

(3) Free furnished quarters, to be occupied without deduction of rent from their salaries: until such quarters are provided, a suitable house rent and an allowance for furniture and crockery should be granted.

(4) The grant of travelling allowance to enable them to

resort to theatres, cinema palaces, races and clubs at least twice a week to and from towns where these exist.

N.B.—If the government considers that it would be more economical to erect such places of recreation and amusement than to pay travelling allowance, the government is at liberty to do so.

(5) Cost of return passage home on full pay for himself, wife, and children, with an ayah for each child, every six months.

(6) Instructions to police officers to procure eggs, fish, meat, vegetables, milk, etc., at less than market rates. There is no objection to pay more than market rates for British-made goods as this would benefit their own countrymen.

(7) The payment by government of the excess of the prevailing rates of wages for servants over standard rates based on three years' average preceding 1914.

(8) Greater facilities for tours of inspection and more liberal scales of travelling allowance.

If, in the interest of India, the Imperial services have to be maintained at the European standard of excellence, probity and efficiency, there is no reason why the above concessions should not be provided at public expense. The ultimate economy which would result from the grant of these concessions would be evident to any person with a scientific frame of mind. A European can perform three times the amount of work he at present does under improved conditions of comfort and convenience, and under the stimulus of pleasure and enjoyment. Whereas, it has been scientifically demonstrated by the highest experts on experimental psychology that an Indian becomes dull, lethargic and effeminate under similar conditions. It, therefore, logically follows that if the above concessions were granted, the members of the Imperial services would be able to do, in addition, the work which their Indian subordinates are now doing, and an ultimate saving could be effected by the abolition of the entire Indian staff. No question of policy is involved in the

improvement of the position and prospects of the clerks and school-masters, for no complaints of a serious nature, threatening to subvert the government of His Majesty established by law in British India, have been heard from them. If they did make their voice articulate and powerful, they could easily be replaced, to the immense relief of bankrupt Bengal and still more bankrupt India, by other starving men of whom there are a plenty and to spare in the province and outside of it. As stated above, it is scientifically inadvisable and economically unjustifiable to give these men, who are notoriously prone to extravagance by spending recklessly on milk for babies, warm clothing in winter, *dal* in addition to rice and such other luxuries, higher salaries which are, according to the unassailable testimony of science, injurious to their physical and moral welfare.

From a consideration of all the arguments bearing on this problem, it is indisputable that true economy consists in providing ever-increasing comforts for the Imperial services and in stubbornly refusing to grant a farthing of increase to the clerks and the school-masters. I am glad that the government has realised the truth of this sound doctrine for it has shown great courage and foresight in definitely postponing the increases, inspite of public clamour, for at least five years. These five years were very wisely interposed as "feelers" and have performed their proper function in bringing out the real truth that the people are too well off to require any state assistance. If matters have gone on smoothly and without any outburst of violence for the last five years, they might go on as smoothly for the next fifty. These five years furnish an unfailing test of the imaginary nature of the grievances. There may have been wails here and lamentations there in the homes of the sufferers; but they are of no political moment, as the law and order of the state has been admirably preserved, thanks to the salutary examples of Amritsar, Chandpur, Chittagong, etc. No increase of policemen and

super-policemen has been called for, and there is no fear of the Police or the Military budget being unfairly and impertinently criticised by rowdy councillors. So the administration goes on merrily and can go on jolly well for ever, inspite of hungry clerks and lean school-masters; and there is no fear of any dislocation in the machinery on that account so long as the vital parts are properly lubricated. Experience justifies the wisdom of the government's action; and in the present bankrupt condition of our province it ought to be applauded and supported by every public man who has the interest of the reformed government and the finances of the province at heart. If the clerks and school-masters by concealing their real affluence show a bold front again, why, that would provide an opportunity to the government for a great humanitarian work coupled with the display of statesmanship of the highest order in the domain of finance. It would give the government an opportunity to replace the existing men by starving graduates and undergraduates whom this University has turned out by the thousands. If they again express dissatisfaction with their position and prospects, they may be dealt with similarly as their predecessors had been, until we have a corps of school-masters and clerks drawing salaries of Rs. 10 rising by a quadrennial increment of one-eighth of a rupee in the upper, and one-sixteenth of a rupee in the lower grade. Thus the whole country will have been filled with thousands of loyal and grateful citizens who have "eaten the salt" of government and Bengal will have returned to her old prosperity. Blessed is the day when such a Utopia, hitherto the dream of political philosophers, is born, and proud is the government which claims it as its offspring! In this Utopia there will be no waste of money, talent or efficiency, and the foundations of a code of economic principles will be well and truly laid for the guidance of every government in all ages and in all countries.

SATISCHANDRA RAY

THE PLASSEY DRAIN

One of the immediate effects of the battle of Plassey was a drain of the Nawab's treasury. Mir Jafar had promised in his treaty with the English to pay large sums of money as compensation to the Company and to the English, Indian and Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta for their losses at Siraj-ud Dowla's capture of the town. This restitution money paid by him in 1757 amounted to £2,150,000. In addition to these compensations, Mir Jafar, after his accession, made large "presents" to the Company's servants. The Select Committee of 1772-73 estimated the total amount of these "presents" at £1,238,575, out of which Clive alone received £234,000. It appears that during the period 1757-1765 this profitable business of making and unmaking Nawabs in Bengal, brought to the Company and its servants no less a sum than £5,266,166[1] (exclusive of Clive's jaigir). The greater part of the wealth which Alivardi had hoarded, did not reach the hands of Mir Jafar. So the ultimate effect of this drain of the Nawab's treasury, was felt by the people of Bengal.

Far more serious was the drain of wealth from Bengal for which she received "no equivalent returns." Controversy is peculiarly keen as to the nature, extent and destination of this outflow of wealth from Bengal which began after the battle of Plassey. According to some writers, this drain was in the form of bullion, especially silver and it went chiefly to England. Thus Digby refers to the vast streams of treasure

[1] The Select Committee's Third Report (1773), pp. 311-12.

According to this Report, the sums paid as presents and compensations amounted respectively to £2,169,498 and £3,770,833, *i.e.*, to a total sum of £5,940,498 within eight years of the defeat of Siraj-ud Dowla. To find out the amount of money paid as presents and compensations by the Nawabs of Bengal, the restitution money of £583,333 paid to the Company by Shuja-ud Dowla and the presents of £33,666 to General Carnac in 1765 from Bulwant Sing and the King and of £58,333 to Clive in 1766 from the Begum have been deducted from £5,940,498.

which began to flow into England from Bengal soon after the defeat of Siraj-ud Dowla. But we do not find any mention of this drain of bullion to England in the Reports of the Select Committees of 1772-73, of 1782-83 or of any other Parliamentary Report of the period. Vansittart, Verelst, Bolts, Milburn and MacGregor are all silent on this point. Sir John Shore is the only important writer, having first-hand knowledge of the economic condition of Bengal of this period, who refers to the drain of bullion to England. In his Minute of the 18th June, 1789, he observes "Silver bullion is also remitted by individuals to Europe; the amount cannot be calculated, but must, since the Company's accession to the Dewany, have been very considerable."[1] But it will be clear from subsequent discussion that neither the Company nor the private individuals did export any considerable quantity of silver to England during the period under consideration. The Select Committee of 1782-83 suggests a very strong argument in support of this view. "To send silver into Europe," observed the Committee "would be to send it from the best to the worst market."[2]

The Company's servants and the English free merchants had a more profitable means of sending home their fortunes than by the actual export of silver, *viz.*, by purchasing bills on any foreign or on the English Company. They could send also diamonds for transferring their fortunes to Europe. This latter method of remittance appears to have been long-standing, for in an order of 4th October, 1716, Fort William, one Mr. Prager was permitted to reside at Benares "for the purpose of trading in pearls, diamonds and other precious stones, in order to afford to individuals means of remitting their property to Europe." Generally, however, the purchase of bills was preferred to the purchase of diamonds for purposes of remittance,

[1] The Fifth Report, Vol. II (Firminger's Ed.), p. 33.

[2] The Select Committee's Ninth Report, 1783, p. 15. It may be noted here that Edmund Burke was the author of this report.

because there was no fixed price at which such diamonds could be sold in Europe. But the Court of Directors were at first quite unwilling to have any bills drawn on them, in favour of their servants or of private English individuals, wanting remittances to England. They generally prohibited the drawing of such bills. Even when they permitted such bills to be drawn, they were "allowed at too low a rate of exchange to be availed of." Lord Clive, in his letter to the Court of Directors, of 28th November, 1765, pointed out that "the refusing to grant bills will undoubtedly throw large sums into the hands of foreigners, particularly the Dutch, as immoderate riches have been lately acquired." The Court of Directors were at last convinced of the unwisdom of their policy and in their letters of 11th November, 1768, and 17th March, 1769, authorised bills to be drawn on them, for the ensuing season to the amount of £212,789. The Government of Bengal did not pay much attention to this limit imposed by the Directors and in 1770 it sold bills for £1,063,067. The increase in the amount of bills drawn on the Directors from this time suggests that these bills had become the most convenient method for transferring individual fortunes to England.[1]

The transfer of such individual fortunes to England by means of bills, did, however, cause a drain from Bengal. It resulted in a drain of goods and not of bullion. With the greater part of the proceeds of the sale of such bills, the English and foreign companies purchased goods for export but in exchange for such exports Bengal received no corresponding imports. It is difficult to calculate the total value of this drain because the amount of bills bought by Englishmen in Bengal from the English and foreign companies[2] cannot

[1] From the Report of the Committee of Secrecy (1773) we learn that the amount received in Bengal for bills of exchange on the Court of Directors during the period 1761-62 to 1770-71 was £2,598,931.

[2] According to the Ninth Report of the Select Committee of 1783 (p. 16) the drain to England, resulting from the purchase of bills on foreign companies was 1 million pounds sterling per annum.

be determined with any precision. But whatever may have been the amount of this drain, the East India Company was not responsible for it.

The direct drain to England on account of the English Company was also in the form of goods. It first arose in 1757 on account of the receipt of large sums[1] by the English Company in Bengal, for its military and political services to the native rulers. The surplus of this money over the actual expenditure, was used for purchasing articles of export in exchange of which Bengal received nothing. We do not know the value of the Company's Bengal investments from 1757 to 1760. According to the Report of the Committee of Secrecy (1773), the investment from Bengal during the period 1761-1765 was £1,786,760, *i.e.*, an average of £357,352 per annum. If it therefore be assumed that the total investment from Bengal during the period 1757-1765 was about 2·7 million pounds sterling, (*i.e.*, an average of £300,000 per annum) it will not be an over-estimate. The value of the merchandise imported to Bengal during the period 1756-1764 was £1,037,411.[2] As the Company did not import any bullion to Bengal from 1757 to 1797, the direct drain from Bengal to England, during the first nine years after the battle of Plassey, could not, therefore, exceed the difference between the total value of the investment and the total value of the merchandise imported during the same period and must have actually been smaller than this difference.

Another drain began also in 1757 from which year silver from Bengal began to be exported to China to provide funds

[1] According to the Report of the Committee of Secrecy (1773) the net amount received by the Government of Bengal, for its military services to the native rulers, after making donations to the army and paying compensations, etc., was about £1,190,000 during the period 1761-62 to 1770-71.

[2] MacGregor, p. 120. The value of the merchandise imported to Bengal during the period 1756-1764 was £879,996. To this we have added £157,415 of bullion imported in 1756. But we have not considered in the above calculation the profit and loss on the Company's export and import trade.

for the Company's China investment. So far as this exported silver did not bring in exchange any import to Bengal, it resulted in a drain from Bengal to England *vid* China. The exact amount of this drain is also difficult to calculate. The letters of the members of the Select Committee of Fort William to the Court of Directors, on the 31st January, 1766, throw some light on this subject. The members observed that that year they had set apart £300,000 for the Company's China investment. The Select Committee of 1782-83 estimates the average value of this drain at £100,000[1] per annum.

But the chief drain for which the Company was responsible, arose out of the investment of the surplus of the territorial revenues of Bengal. Such an investment began regularly from the year 1766. It arose under the following circumstances. After the grant of the Dewani, most extravagant ideas were entertained in England as to the advantages to be derived from the so-called fabulous wealth of Bengal. The enormous fortunes made by the Company's servants, were, to a great extent, responsible for the prevalence of such ideas in England. The proprietors of East India Stock and the British Government demanded a share of the territorial revenues of Bengal. "About £2,000,000 was added to the annual dividends of the proprietors; £4,000,000 was given to

[1] The Ninth Report (1783), p. 16. It appears that the money sent from Bengal to the other British settlements in India was spent not only for meeting the actual territorial expenses of the Company in those parts but also for providing money for the Company's investments. Thus the Governor and his Council in their letter of the 24th March, 1768 to the Court of Directors observe "the demands made on us from the Presidency of Madras, for the support of the war, amount to 20 lacs of rupees. We have determined to supply them with 12 lacs from your treasury and have desired them to appropriate 3 lacs for that use from the sums we have remitted thither, *for the service of your China investments.*' (The italics are ours.) The exact amount of the drain from Bengal to England through China or through other British settlements in India is therefore almost impossible to calculate. According to the Report of the Committee of Secrecy (1773) the net amount of remittances from Bengal to other settlements in goods, bills and bullion during the period 1761-62 to 1770-71 was £2,358,298.

the State [1] which, added to the old Dividend, brought a constant charge upon the mixt Interest of Indian Trade and Revenue, of £800,000 a year; this was to be provided for all events." Thus, the demands of the Parliament and the proprietors as well as the Company's own requirements necessitated the transfer of the surplus of the territorial revenues to England. The transfer took place in the form of exports from Bengal. According to the Ninth Report of the Select Committee of 1783, this drain finally ceased [2] in 1780. The value of this drain approximately amounted to ten million pounds [3] during the period 1766-1780.

What then was the total drain to England during the period 1757-1780 ? This amount cannot be accurately calculated. It appears to have been something like thirty-eight

[1] By Townshend's Act of 1767 (7 Geo. 3 Cap. 57) the East India Company undertook to pay £400,000 per annum to the British Government. This payment was continued only for 5 years. The total amount paid by the Company to the British Government from 1768 to 1775, both years inclusive, was £2,169,399. (Langton's evidence before the House of Commons, on the 21st July, 1831.)

[2] As the territorial and commercial accounts of the Company were mixed up before the passing of the Charter Act of 1813, it is difficult to say when the investment out of the surplus of territorial revenues first began and when it finally came to an end. It is however certain that the greater part of the funds for investment during the period 1766-1780 came out of the surplus of the territorial revenues of Bengal.

[3] This amount has been determined from the following calculation. The total Bengal investment during the period 1766-1780 was £12,360,264. The value of the merchandise imported to Bengal from England during the years 1765-1779 was £1,903,911. As the Company did not import any bullion to Bengal during this period, the drain of surplus revenue could not have been more than £12,360,264 minus £1,903,911. It must have been somewhat smaller than £10,456,353 because a part of the funds for investment came out of the proceeds of the sale of bills of exchange on the Directors of the Company. As the territorial and commercial accounts were mixed up, the value of the Bengal investment provided out of bond debts raised in that province cannot be calculated. But such investment really amounted to an investment out of the surplus of the next year's revenue, because bond debts created one year, were often discharged during the very next year. Thus during the period 1761-62 to 1770-71 the total bond debt created by the Company in Bengal amounted to £1,337,731 and the bond debt discharged during the same period amounted to £936,196. Such debts did not amount to a large sum before the year 1780. The investment from this source was therefore small and has accordingly been neglected in our calculation. With regard to the investment out of the surplus of territorial revenues, Burke writes in the Ninth Report, "Goods from Bengal, purchased from the territorial

million[1] pounds sterling. Even if it was a few million pounds more or less than the above-mentioned sum, it must have meant a very heavy burden on the people of Bengal, because the purchasing power of money was then at least five[2] times as high in Bengal as at present. It is needless to say that this heavy drain greatly impoverished the province of Bengal.

revenues, from the sale of European goods and from the produce of monopolies, for the four years which ended with 1780, when the investment from the surplus revenue finally closed, were never less than a million sterling, and commonly nearer twelve hundred thousand pounds. This million is the lowest value of the goods sent to Europe, for which no satisfaction is made." In a footnote, Burke adds 'The sale, to the amount of about one hundred thousand pounds annually, of the export rom Great Britain ought to be deducted from this million."

[1] We have arrived at this amount from the following calculation :—

(1) The drain to England caused by the export of silver to China by the East India Company at the average rate of £100,000 per annum (*vide* the Ninth Report, 1783) during the 24 years from 1757 to 1780 was	£ 2,400,000
(2) The drain to England resulting from the purchase of bills on the foreign companies at the average rate of 1 million pounds per annum (*vide* the Ninth Report, 1783) during 24 years was ...	£ 24,000,000
(3) The drain to England on account of the Company from 1757 to 1765 was approximately equal to	£ 1,600,000
(4) The drain to England arising from the investment out of surplus revenue and out of the proceeds of the sale of bills on the Court of Directors during the period 1766-1780 was approximately equal to	£ 10,000,000
... ... Total ...	£ 38,000,000

To this sum of £38,000,000, we should add the value of the drain to England, caused by the export of bullion (1) to China by private English individuals, and (2) to Madras and Bombay by the Government of Bengal, in providing the Company's investment from those places; this drain cannot be determined even approximately, so we have omitted it from our calculation. We have not considered also the shipping charges and other invisible items of export and import.

[2] Appendix 15 to the Sixth Report, 1782, quotes from Fort William Revenue Consultations, of 29th November, 1776, the following list of prices of necessaries of life in 1729 and in 1776 :—

Articles.	Rate per rupee at Murshidabad, in 1729.		Rate per rupee at Calcutta, in 1776.	
	Mds.	Srs.	Mds.	Srs.
Rice, fine, called Bahsphool—				
1st sort	1	10	0	16
2nd sort	1	23	0	18
3rd sort	1	35	0	21

As has already been said, the greater part of this drain was in the form of goods. But on account of the oppression on the weavers, the monopolistic power of the Company and the unfair competition of the Company's servants in the inland trade of Bengal, the native merchants and manufacturers were little benefited by the increased export which resulted from this drain. This drain also made possible a revolution in commerce, which was partly responsible for the scarcity of silver currency in Bengal during the greater part of the period 1757-1772.

JOGIS CHANDRA SINHA

Articles.	Rate per rupee at Murshidabad, in 1729.		Rate per rupee at Calcutta, in 1776.	
	Mds.	Srs.	Mds.	Srs.
Rice, coarse, called Desna	4	15	0	32
„ „ Poorbie	4	25	0	37
„ „ Munsurah	5	25	1	0
„ „ Kurkashallee ...	7	20	1	10
Wheat—				
1st sort	3	0	0	32
2nd sort	3	30	0	35
Barley	8	0	1	13
Bhenot, a kind of grain for feeding horses ...	4	35	0	20 to 22
Oil, 1st sort	0	21	0	6¼
2nd sort	0	24	0	6¾
Ghee, 1st sort	0	10½	0	3
2nd sort	0	11¼	0	4

The above list of prices in 1776 may be compared with the prices of necessaries in 1913-14 to get a rough idea of the purchasing power of the rupee during the period 1757 to 1780.

Reviews

Al-Siddiq.—By Mohiuddin Ahmad.—This monograph is an excellent piece of literary workmanship. Not only has the author used the materials available in the European languages, he has made considerable draft upon original sources. It is written in a pleasant style and does credit to him. It is free from bias or partisanship and seems marked by sound historical judgment.

His subject is an inspiring one. No Muslim can think of the Caliph Abu Bakr without a thrill of pleasure and price. In an era of bloodshed he kept his sword stainless; in an age of moral chaos he set the example of a life pure and immaculate; in a period of time-serving he showed himself a model of unwavering love and loyalty. Glory to thee—for thine is the place among the greatest and sublimest heroes of the world! But with Abu Bakr we must associate Omar—the St. Paul of Islam, as Renan calls him. Nay more—the real Empire-builder of Islam. A consummate statesman, a finished legislator, an ardent lover of Islam, firm, unbending, intrepid, resolute—Omar has left a record of achievements behind him which challenges comparison with the achievements of the greatest rulers of mankind. Abu Bakr and Omar were the true twin-born builders of the Islamic Empire—the *par excellence* champions of the great Religion launched by the Prophet Mohamed. Their names tower far above those of all other Muslims. They are the highest peaks of Islamic wisdom and Islamic statesmanship.

I trust Mr. Ahmad will follow up this study with the study of the life of the Second Caliph.

The life of the Caliph Abu Bakr may be briefly told. It was a life of devotion to the cause of Islam—absolute, undivided, whole-hearted devotion. The cause of the Prophet was his cause, and so were his joys and sorrows. Abu Bakr lived for him and died for him. It was a life-long friendship tested by every possible variation of good and bad fortune. It was a flawless friendship, loving and romantic, enduring even unto death. His faith in Islam was perfect and complete. It was a heaven-sent religion and had the support of the Almighty behind it. No power on earth could crush or conquer it. It was sent as a blessing to mankind. Such was his belief and it was this belief which sustained him—serene

and imperturbable—amid doubts and darkness and gloom which pervaded Arabia immediately after the death of the Prophet. Amidst difficulties incredible, and troubles unending, he clung to this belief. Nothing could alter or shake or weaken his conviction. Love for the Prophet was his ruling passion—extension of Islam, his one consuming care. After the death of the Prophet when heavy banks of cloud hung over the horizon of Arabia he calmly, resolutely, pursued the path indicated by the Prophet. Neither the desertion of the Arabs, nor the fear of their threatened revolts—nothing could deflect his course. The expedition under Osama had to proceed and it did proceed and with what glorious result. It was the triumph of faith untarnished. Short was his reign but not too short to see the whole of Arabia won back to Islam and the Muslim Arms triumphant beyond the confines of his native country. He lived to hear of the conquest of Hira in May or June, 633 and of the Battle of 'Aijnadin in Palestine in July 634. He died on the 23rd of August 634 and was buried beside the Prophet. After a short separation the two loving friends were in death united—never more to part.

Abu Bakr's private life was as irreproachable as was his public life. Nothing indeed, could be suggested against him except that he was too indulgent to Khalid. But that was an act of political wisdom. He used the treasures, which his general sent out to him, for purposes of state and state only. He himself remained as poor as before, and continued for sometime even as Caliph, to maintain himself, by trade and farming, until his companions persuaded him to devote himself entirely to government. Then alone did he decide to accept a few thousand *dirhams* a year and a summer and winter suit. He was kind, simple and pious. As the first collector of the Qur'an, to him belonged the credit of its complete preservation. As a lawgiver, he set an example to his successors, for in cases unprovided for in the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet he gave decisions in consultation with the jurists; decisions which, with few exceptions, became binding authorities.[1]

Henceforward, to Islamic studies we must really turn seriously, earnestly, fervently. Therein we must seek our inspiration and thence true inspiration will assuredly come. There we shall find examples of heroism, devotion, bold thinking and fearless ocurage—examples which should cheer and refresh us on our toilsome path of progress and freedom and enlightenment. What has been achieved in the past—we can achieve now and more so,

[1] Khuda Bukhsh, Islamic Peoples, p. 57.

ath is open to us—only
ur future. We shall make or mar
loins and make a start? Is that
essity? Can there be two opinions

ur progress, I place education far above
alse education which creates maddening dis-
sufferings of the mind, but that education which
nd self-control; which teaches us to ask; which
r where honour is due but which will scorn to ample in
at raise glory—the price of which is slavery and self-effacement.
an education naught but our own history and tradition will
such an education is all that we need.

an stir us to our depths as *Hali* can? Surely neither Shakes-
, nor Milton, nor Victor Hugo? In him we hear our most intimate
thoughts, our loftiest hopes, our highest aspirations. Who can teach us
and lead us to the path of wisdom as Sir Syed Ahmad can? Are not
his works a source of unfailing light and revelation to us and the
generations to come? With guides such as these, we shall never falter and
fall and with a literature, such as the Islamic literature, we need go
nowhere else, to seek light and leading.

India is slowly but surely awakening to the realities of life. Her
sleep of Ages is over. Her dreams are done.

Light cometh but slowly!

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

LIBERAL CHRISTIANITY

Human Needs and the Justification of Religious Beliefs—Alban. G. Widgery, M.A., Baroda, 1918.

Personality and Atonement—Alban. G. Widgery, Baroda, 1918.

Immortality and other Essays—Alban. G. Widgery, Baroda, 1919.

The prestige of religion has been so great in recent times that even trained thinkers expected to pursue truth and judge for themselves are willing to support the arbitrary deliverances of a 'revealed' scripture or a

supposed light of nature.
philosophy comes in later to
a proof of dogmas, if such a
tructive effect of scientific knowl
f human reason in religious
not that which is in harmony with
that which fulfils human needs. But rati
satisfied with intellectual indolence. It is vain to
which, after all, combats superstition and not true r
discusses in his work on "Human Needs" the relation of rel
the needs of man and rightly decides that the needs include
as well as the emotional and the practical ones. Religious
if they satisfy the needs of the human spirit as a whole. He criticise
attempts made by some recent thinkers, notably the pragmatists, to se
life from logic. Such a view has been responsible for much obscura
and anarchy in religion. We have prophets of new religions at the p
day who juggle with truth in the name of religion and mystify the simple-
minded on the convenient assumption that man 'needs' mystery. Chesterton
hits off the weak point of the pragmatistic notion when he says that,
"pragmatism is a matter of human needs and one of the first of human
needs is to be something more than a pragmatist" (Orthodoxy). The
rational part of human nature is also of the divine substance of life. God
is Eternal Reason as much as Eternal Love and Eternal Goodness.
Ultimately no belief which is not rational can satisfy the spiritual being
of man. Ritschl in spite of his intention to abjure all metaphysics in
religion, never succeeded in freeing himself from metaphysical construction.
It is a false theory to assume that philosophical truth is one thing and
religious truth another.

It follows that religious doctrines will have to change in obedience to philosophical demands. Throughout the long history of Christianity attempts to reconcile its doctrine with the growing knowledge of the times have been very common. There were men in the days of the Apostles who advocated a Gospel without the Cross. In the 4th century, Arius taught a Christianity without the supernatural scheme of salvation. In the 15th century, the Renaissance came very near paganising Christianity. To-day we have attempts by the Liberals, the Unitarians, the Modernists, etc., to present Jesus as the most perfect man that ever lived, with a Bethlehem which saw no miracles, with a Cross which witnessed a sublime self-sacrifice but knew no atonement for sins and with a sepulchre from which no angel's

and rolled away the stone. In the two books on Atonement and Immortality, Prof. Widgery takes up the task of restating the principles of Christianity to suit our times. In his opinion "the Churches have failed very largely because they have been and are still too concerned to spend their energy and power upon the preservation of their traditional formulation of doctrine and traditional organisation" (Immortality, p. 77). Jesus is the central hope of Christianity. His life and teaching must be kept distinct from the contributions of the apostles and the churches (*ibid*, p. 71). The author is indifferent to the miraculous element in Christianity. He explains it away on the hypothesis, that "being of extraordinary goodness and personal power, Jesus was the object of so much adoration on the part of his disciples that along lines well known in human psychology, they made for him and even put into his mouth claims he did not himself make" (Human Needs, p. 26). The physical aspect of Resurrection does not interest him. The significance of Resurrection is that the mission of Jesus did not end when he was crucified. 'Atonement is a convenient term to include (1) Reconciliation, the healing of discord between persons; (2) Regeneration, the change of attitude leading the individual to a higher level of life and so into closer harmony with men and God; and (3) Redemption, from suffering" (Personality, p. 44).

After this recasting of Christian doctrine, Prof. Widgery can justly say that "with regard to the person of Jesus, enlightened non-Christian view and the liberal Christian conception tend to converge to a greater harmony" (Introd. to Human Needs). 'Enlightened non-Christian' view looks upon the life of Jesus as an illustration of the normal law of spiritual growth and victory. It is ready to worship Jesus, peerless alike in joy and sorrow, in grief and goodness, possessed of an inward peace and a triumphant gentleness which are not possible without faith in God who knows all and sees all. His life embodies the consolation and the tragedy of spiritual effort. Liberal Christians of the type of Harnack look upon the career of Jesus as a supreme example of "eternal life in the midst of time, by the strength and under the eyes of God" (What is Christianity? p. 8). Prof. Widgery admits that "all men may become sons of God in every way that he is, by becoming morally and religiously like him, that is, by framing their lives absolutely on the principle of active love" (Immortality, p. 108).

We have in these books of Prof. Widgery a refreshingly frank statement of what is living and what is dead in Christianity. Many of our Christian friends in India may not like his rendering of the doctrines, which does away with the *uniqueness* of the Christian Gospel. But if they remember

that India is unable to accept Christianity as her own on account of the doctrinal details about the Divinity of Christ, the Virgin birth, the Resurrection, the Fall and the Atonement, they will realise the service of Prof. Widgery to the cause they have at heart. If Christianity means a kind of life which we are to share, if it consists in a moral summons to a change of heart and a spiritual prophecy of the right of all to be saved, if it is to escape from the yoke of the natural law and effect the atonement of man with God, the soul of India will respond to the call of Christianity.

The books are written in an easy style, free from technicalities and are eminently suited for a popular audience.

S. R.

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